Præces Principum,

OR

The Preſident of Illuſtrious

PRINCES.

Hiſtorically, Theologically, and Politically, diſplaying the Life and Reigne of that moſt Magnificent and Majeſtick PRINCE,

EDWARD the 4th.

VVith exact Narratives of the bloody Conteſts betwixt Him and

HENRY the 6th.

About the Crowne of

ENGLAND.

Wherein is diſcovered the juſt Judgments of the Almighty, who permitted Perjury to unbuild the Greatneſſe of LANCASTER, which was at firſt built by Perjury.

By VV. H. Eſq;

Libido dominandi cauſam Belli fecit.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Place*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at *Furnivalls*-Inne-Gate in *Holborne*, MDCLIX.

Paradise Principum.

OR

The Pattern of Illustrious

PRINCES,

Historically, Theologically, and Politically,

displaying the Life and Reign of that most Magnificent

Monarch and Majestick PRINCE,

DAVID,

Wherein are many Marvels of the bloody

Conflicts he

VICTORY

Above the Crowne of

GOLIAH.

Wherein the ruling Judgment of the Almighty,

and the Revolt and Rebuild the Oeconomick of

By WV. H. Esq.

LONDON,

Printed for John Stone, and are to be sold at his Shop at

M DC LIX.

TO THE KINGS MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

Sir,

AN Humbler Dedication, would ſeeme to leſſen the memory of that great Prince, whoſe Hiſtory I here lay downe at your feete. Your Majeſtie is heire to thoſe Crowns, his happy courage regain'd from the long and violent poſſeſſion, of a moſt Potent Family: What can then by any Title appertaine to him, but muſt be injuſtice to offer to another? His life preſents your eye with rugged times, yet ſmooth'd by a prevailing Fortune, and a juſt cauſe. Faction begot many tempeſts: but Soveraigntie found a happie calme, in the deſtruction (ſince no gentler way had authoritie) of mighty oppoſers.

When we, your ſubjects, looke backe upon that age, how ought we to congratulate the preſent? Wherein, free even from the noyſe of warre, we have hitherto by the excellent Wiſedome of your Majeſties government, lived ſafe and envied. The Almighty grant all your people knowledge of their owne felicity, and their mindes ſo diſpoſed, that their bleſſings may feele no interruption. May your Majeſtie long continue in peace, the comfort and honour of theſe times, and the beſt example for the future. But if you ſhall be forc't to draw your ſword; may your enemies ſubmit and taſt part of your mercy: if not; periſh in your Victories. This is the prayer of your Majeſties

Moſt Humble, moſt

Loyall, and moſt

Obedient Subject.

Wᴹ. Habington.

THE HISTORIE OF EDWARD THE FOVRTH KING OF *ENGLAND.*

RICHARD Duke of *Yorke* overthrowne by his owne rashnesse, and the happie conduct of Queene *Margaret*, at the battaile of *Wakefield*: left the justice of his Title, with a more prosperous fortune to his Sonne *Edward*. His head during life, busied with expectations of Soveraigntie, after death, was mockt with a paper Crowne, and fixt on a pole was set on the walls of *Yorke*. For the Queene, to make his pretentions to the Kingdome the common scorne, forgot that compassion she owed humaine calamitie; and in a phantasticke cruelty exposed it thus to the barbarous mirth of the beholders. With him dyed his younger sonne

Edmond Earle of *Rutland*, then but twelve yeares old, comming too ſoone with his tutor to the ſchoole of Wane, and learning at firſt the ſharpeſt leſſon from the Lord *Clifford*, who moſt inhumanely ſtab'd him proſtrate at his feete, intreating but for life.

In the very Haven, after a long and tempeſtuous voyage, thus periſht the Duke of *Yorke*, as if it had beene in the fate of al the *Richards*, who were either in fact or title Kings of *England*, to end by violent deathes. *Richard* the firſt and ſecond preceding him: His ſonne *Richard* the Tyrant, and *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* his Nephew, following him in the like diſaſter, though ſeverall wayes, and upon different quarrels.

This great overthrow was ſuddenly rumor'd through the whole Kingdome, and ſtretched up to the higheſt, to advance the reputation of the Queenes felicitie. And ſoone it arrived at *Gloceſter*, where *Edward* Earle of *March* lay with ſome ſmall forces, expecting directions from his Father: By whoſe death perceiving himſelfe in ſo foule weather to ſit alone at the helme, he began more warily to ſteere his courſe: and conſidering how dangerous leaſure is to increaſe the apprehenſion of misfortune, removed to *Shrewesbury*. By the way his armie ſwel'd up to three and twenty thouſand fighting men; which might appeare ſtrange if we weigh the neceſſary unexperience of his youth, being then but eighteene yeares of age, and the ſlender retinue that uſually weights on infelicitie. But now he was the head of the great body of that faction, which his Father at the expence of ſo long trouble, had purchaſed to his ſide; and them, the Queenes nature implacable to mercy, made reſolute

lute onely to hope for ſafety by running into the common danger. Moreover all the men of power who inhabited betweene *Gloceſter* and *Shrowsbury*, had dependancie on him as heire to *Mortimer*, or held in chiefe of his mighty confederate, the Earle of *Warwicke*.

With this ſudden and unexpected acceſſe of forces he entertain'd a confidence to be able to revenge his fathers injurie, and obtaine that greatneſſe as yet had beene in vaine attempted. Hee therefore lookt about, where he might on the beſt advantage make experience of his fortune. Fortune appearing eaſie to be courted, as if enamord on his youth, having beene ſeldome obſerved but froward to age, in any deſigne that depends chiefely upon courage.

And occaſion was immediately offerd: certaine diſcovery being made of a great power raiſed by the adverſe party, with purpoſe to ſurpriſe him in the amazement of the late misfortune. The Armie conſiſted of *Welch* and *Iriſh*, according to the ſeverall Nations of the two Commanders, *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and *Jaems* Earle of *Ormond*: *Pembrooke* halfe brother to *Henry* the ſixt, as ſonne to Queene *Catherin*, dowager to *Henry* the fift, by *Owen Teuther*: and *Ormond* a moſt faithfull ſervant to the houſe of *Lanchaſter*, by whoſe gift in *England* he enjoyed the Earledome of *Wiltſhire*.

Againſt theſe two the Earle of *March* led backe his Forces, and in a large plaine neere *Mortimers* croſſe on *Candlemas* day in the morning, gave them battell. Before the fight, the Sunne (as by many Authors it is averd) appeared to the Earle in the reſemblance of three Sunnes, and ſuddenly united into one; the truth of which I will not diſpute,

But certainely the pretenſion of ſuch apparitions ſtrangely prevailes with the ſuperſtitious multitude, and hath beene both the practiſe and advantage of the moſt expert Commanders. Yet how this *omen* could bee expounded happie to his deſigne, I underſtand not, unleſſe we ſeeke the interpretation from the event: for that indeed gave him the victory, and brought the glory of the two adverſe Generalls over to his ſide; ſo that the three Sunnes which with equall brightneſſe appeared in the morning, before evening ſhin'd alone in him. For the two Earles and the whole Armie were put to flight, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand eight hundred on the place: many *Welch*, and ſome *Engliſh* of name were taken priſoners, and afterward at *Hereford* beheaded: among whom an extraordinary fortune hath made *Owen Tenther* moſt the diſcourſe of Poſterity. For the good luck of an amiable perſon, wrought him into the affection and ſoone after advanced him to the marriage of *Catherin* daughter of *France*, and Widdow to the moſt glorious Prince our Nation ever gain'd honour by. Yet all that this ſo envied ſplendor in a wife got him, was, to render his life obnoxious to impriſonment and faction, and his death more eminent on a ſcaffold.

This victory rayſed *Edwards* imaginations high; ſo that now he reſolved to ſpend his fortune no longer on ſmall enterpriſes, And leaſt the ſpirit of his Armie ſhould begin to languiſh, having no enemie neere to finde him in imployment, he reſolved to ſearch for one about *London*: whether he had intelligence the Queene with her triumphant forces directed her march: moreover it conderned the pollicie of his affaires, to retaine

the

the poſſeſſion of the capitall Cittie of the Kingdome, which continued firme to his devotion, and in which the Lords of his faction had cuſtodie of King *Henries* perſon, left to their faith, when the Duke of *Yorke* went his laſt fatall expedition.

But in the way at *Chipping Norton* he met the Earle of *Warwicke*, having lately fought and loſt the field to the Queene at S^t. *Albans*. In which, beſide the honour of the day and ſlaughter of two thouſand of her enemies, ſhe recovered the perſon of her husband. So that *Warwicke* brought with him onely a relation of his late overthrow, but with ſuch a courage as diſdain'd misfortune, and coveted nothing more than by the tryall of a new day to perſwade, or elſe to force backe victory to his ſide.

And oftentimes a ſmall loſſe to an Armie like opening a veine to a body, doth rather correct than any way impaire the health: whereas too much proſperity, like the worſt ſurfet, ſuddenly becomes incureable. And ſo the two late obtain'd conqueſts wrought in the enemie, onely inſolencie and diſorder. For the Queene, wanton with ſucceſſe, vainely imagined a ſecuritie from future competition: and either wanted power to reſtraine her ſouldiers, or licenced them to a free ſpoyle: by which unruly violence ſhe untyed the affection of the Commons, who by their quiet and profit, meaſure the vertues of Princes. And indeede they had title to their often complaints againſt the Northerne troopes; who ſoone as they had paſt *Trent*, as if there they had parted with all obedience to diſcipline, made uſe of all kindes of licence, that might ſerve their avarice or pleaſure.

And having by the way left no Townes, and in them no place, how Sacred soever unspoyled: after the flight of *Warwicke* they designed for *London*, hoping to finde it abundantly stored for prey, and utterly unable for defence.

But the Citizens perceiving hostility in their approach, shut their gates and arm'd for resistance: And with such valour and good order behaved themselves, that the rude assailants were with losse repulst, and the Queene perswaded to retire North-ward, knowing the disorder of her men had begot her in the place where she then lay incamped, nothing but ill aspects and worse wishes: she therefore dislodged from S^t. *Albans*; and every day as she marcht toward the North, new relations came of the greatnesse and resolution of the Earle of *Marches* power; who with the Earle of *Warwicke* was on his journey to *London*.

And doubtlesse the report of his approach confirmed the Cittie in her courage to resist the late assault: which otherwise would without question have complied with the fortune of the more powerfull. For presently after the departure of the Queene, the Earle of *March* made his triumphant entry, and was received with such acclamations, as an over-joyed people could expresse, who onely hoped for safety by the fortune of his side. To encrease the glory of this entrie concurd, beside his title to the Crowne, his late victory at *Mortimers* Crosse, the memory of a most glorious Father, and great authority of his Confederate *Warwicke*; the beauty of *Marches* person, than which that age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward forme a small circumstance to induce

duce the multitude or reverence, since a deformitie in a Prince, hath oftentimes occasioned contempt even to deprivation: so on the contrary hath an amiable shape strengthend very weake pretentions, and in *Antoninus Heliogabalus* was sufficient title to an Empire, even in a military election.

But the Earle of *Warwicke*, (whose minde was still in labour, and felt continually most violent throwes, till it had brought forth a settled soveraignety to the house of *Yorke*) contented not himselfe with this generall applause, knowing how the least change of Fortune would create new affections. He therefore resolved so to fasten the Citty to his designes, that any alteration in *Edward* should be ruine to them: and thereupon caused a generall muster of all his forces in St. *Johns* fields: where when hee found an universall confluence of all men, answerable to his expectation, he cast his Armie into a Ring, and with a loude voyce, made to be reade, the agreement which the last Parliament had accorded betweene *Henry* the sixt, and *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. By which *Henry* (out of compassion to a long possession) was permitted to enjoy the Crowne during his naturall life, the remainder to *Richard* and his heires, in whom it was then apparently proved that the title to the Kingdome did remaine. In which agreement was likewise manifested that *Henry* should make immediate forfeiture, whensoever either hee or any of his party should attempt to disanull this Act. This reade, and commented on with the best efficacie of Language, to expresse the foule breach on King *Henries* side, in the destruction of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*: Question was proposed

to

to them, whether they would longer continue in obedience to *Henries* usurpation, who so impiously had violated his Faith? To which with an universall loude consent of voyces they cryed out, No, No. Then were they demanded, whether they would admit *Edward*, whose title to the Crowne was so apparent, and whose sufferance had beene so great in a perfidious violent entry, and a long injurious possession of the Kingdome by the family of *Lancaster*? To which with acclamations of assent was answered Yea, Yea.

Thus by the Souldier and the people was *Edwards* title approved, and he admitted King. And happily did this ceremony then appeare needfull, in regard the same voyces had vowed obedience to another. Otherwise whosoever shall alleage that the suffrage of the multitude is necessary to confirme a Prince, destroyes the right of succession, and in that the Monarchie, which so long and triumphantly hath ruled this Nation. And to understand the incertainety and injustice of all popular election, History instructs us that no Tyrant yet in *England* by what indirect practise soever he attaind, or cruelty maintaind the government, but entred in by a seeming approbation of the Common-wealth, and setled his state by confirmation of the People. For I know not by what universall distemper of humors it happens, that generally when the head of this Kingdome hath beene sicke, the whole body was diseased: so farre, that usurpation hath beene ligitimated, and tyrannie applauded. Which misfortune must have necessarily beene occasioned through Potencie of the prevailing faction, and feare which possest all honest minds: who though they neither wanted know-

ledge to see the injury, nor desire to redresse it, yet private interest made them too cowardly to undertake the remedy.

But in *Edwards* first entrance on the Kingdome the popular suffrage (which in the inauguration of Christian Princes is of ancient custome esteemed a convenient ceremonie) met with a just title. For he by his Grandmother, daughter and heire of *Mortimer* sonne and heire to *Philippa*, onely childe of *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, third sonne to *Edward* the third King of *England*: of necessity must have (where women are admitted to inherit) better claime to the Crowne than *Henry* the sixt: though in the fourth descent from *Edward* the third by *John* of *Gaunt*, being but his fourth sonne. For however Casuists may dispute, or civill Lawyers argue. The being removed one degree further, can no way prejudice succession: Whereby the younger brother may come to bee prefer'd before the elder brothers sonne, if by chance the elder dye during his Fathers life. An injustice so against reason and custome, that whosoever yet attempted it, was reputed to violate the lawes of Nature.

From S. *Johns* fields, the principall of the armie, and Common Councell of the Cittie, brought newes of this Election to *Edward* Earle of *March* remaining at *Baynards* Castle. Who soone as he understood the intention of their addresse (with such modestie as some Clergie man may have used at his consecration, who by simoniacall practise hath obtained a Bishopriek) refused that a while, which most ambitiously he coveted. But soone the animation of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Bishops of

London

London and *Exeter*, and divers others of eminence prevail'd, and he at their request tooke on him the Royaltie.

That night he rested, the next morning with as much ceremonie and state, as the shortnesse and unquietnesse of the time could licence, in solemne procession he went to *Paules*; whence after *Te Deum* sung, and oblation made, hee rod to *Westminster*: there seated in the most perspicuous place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* the Confessor in his hand, himselfe made declaration of his double title to the Crowne. First, by descent, as heire to the third sonne of *Edward* the third; the Line of whose eldest sonne *Edward* the blacke Prince extinguisht in the deposition and parricide of *Richard* the second procured by *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke*, first King of the house of *Lancaster*, *Edward* the thirds second sonne dying without issue. Secondly, by authority of Parlament, which upon examination of the Duke of *Yorkes* title, confer'd the possession of the Kingdome immediately on him or his heires, when *Henry* the sixth should make forfeiture of it, by death, resignation, or breach of that Accord sworne there so solemnely by them. And that this accord was broken, the slaughter of the Duke oppresst with unequall numbers on King *Henries* partie at the battell of *Wakefield*, did sadly manifest. Nevertheless he protested himselfe ready to forgoe the justice of his claime, rather than to enter upon it without their free vote.

At which unanimously the Assembly cryed King *Edward*, King *Edward*: Ioyfull that their voyces might confirme him King, who had daign'd them so humble a complement, as to professe that

he

would not receive the title without their ſuffrage. The formalitie of this ſecond Election thus paſt, he went in Proceſſion to the Abbie: whence after much ſolemnitie and homage of all the Nobility there preſent; he returned by water to the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace, and was immediately proclaimed King, throughout the City by the name of *Edward* the Fourth.

The firſt fortnight of his Raigne was died, I will not ſay ſtain'd, with the blood of *Walter Walker* a Grocer, who keeping ſhop at the ſigne of the Crowne in *Cheapeſide*, ſayd he would make his ſonne heire to the Crowne: a bold jeſt broke in an evill time: yet doe I not ſide with them in opinion, who taxe the King of ſeverity in this execution; unleſſe I could cleere this man from being particularly factious for the houſe of *Lancaſter*, or know that theſe words were uttered in innocent mirth, without any ſcorne to King *Edwards* Title. And howsoever perhaps the extraordinary puniſhment of ſuch ſaucie language, was not then unneceſſary to beget authority, and make men cautious to diſpute the deſcent of Princes, when the queſtion was ſo nice, and arguments not improbable on either ſide.

But here in her very firſt curteſie, Fortune raiſd King *Edward* higher than the endeavours of a long ambition had done his Father. For now was he conſecrated King, in the Imperiall City of this Realme, adornd with every circumſtance of Soveraigntie: and all his enterpiſes hitherto ſo flattered with ſucceſſe, that he could promiſe nothing but proſperity to his hopes. Yet was the ground whereon he built uncertaine, and his ſtate, brought into compariſon with his Competitor,

petitor, fraile and obnoxious to ruine.

For *Henry* had equall dignity with the advantage of a long Raigne: an uninterrupted descent in Majestie for threescore yeares; a soveraignitie acknowledg'd abroad by all Christian Princes, and obey'd at home by all Englishmen without dispute: a title according to the Law *Salique* indubitable, and which had beene confirmed at the first entry of his Grandfather *Henry* the fourth into the Kingdome, not onely by resignation of *Richard* the second, by generall acknowledgement of all the Nobilitie, and by authority of Parliament: but even by approbation, nay particular negotiation of *Edmond* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, Grandfather, Great Vncle, and Great Grandfather to the late anointed King, *Edward* the Fourth. Onely a feeble judgement, and a long evill fortune rendred *Henry* the sixt inferiour: to counterpoise which Queene *Margaret* and the Lords of her side were daring and vigilant, omitting no stratagem or endeavor that might adde to the honour, or safety of their designes.

Whereupon she continued still in the North, and obliging that people every day more to her devotion, labourd to prepare such an armie, as might upon the worst of fortune, be able enough for defence. And soone she found how much her owne and the authoritie of the great Lords of her side prevail'd: having rais'd threescore thousand fighting men, and they all resolv'd with expence of their blood to buy backe that Majestie, which the house of *Lancaster* by evill fate had lost. An armie if arm'd and order'd well, able to oppose the mightiest enemie, or undertake the boldest enter-

enterprise. On sight of which the Queene entertain'd a confidence easily to scatter the Forces of the new Mushrome King, who in a night seem'd to have sprung up to Majestie. Especially when she understood how with unequall power hee marcht Northward, A clime not unlikely to prove as distastrous to him, as to his Father.

For King *Edward*, soone as the voyce of the people had saluted him Prince, resolv'd with hazard of his new gain'd Soveraignitie, to extirpate his great opposer. For while the side of *Lancaster* was supported with the devotion of so large a portion of the Kingdome, as yet adhear'd to *Henry*, he could be King, but at the curtesie of his Faction: and the body of the Land must of necessitie grow monstrous, being charg'd with two heads, each of wch look'd divers wayes. He therefore while his men had yet the memorie of their late good fortune, fresh in their courage, marcht toward the Queene, and chose rather, as worthier his spirit, to provoke than expect an enemie.

Of his arrivall at *Pomfret* Castle when it was understood, and that part of his armie led by the Lord *Fitzwalter* had possest it selfe of *Ferribrig*, a passage over the River *Aire* of great import: All they of *Lancaster* began carefully to looke to their affaires. King *Henry*, the Queene, and Prince (who were by their severall weaknesses unfit for action) retired to *Yorke*, there to attend the event of businesses. The Armie being committed to the charge of the Duke of *Sommerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*.

Among these it was resolv'd that *Ferribrig*, in regard of the consequence of the place, was at any hazard to be recovered, and the enterprise left to

the undertaking of *Clifford*: who early the next morning, least delay might betray his designe to the enemie, with a competent number made thither; and with such diligence and secresie hee March't, that before there was the least suspition of an assault, the uncircumspect guard was entred upon and defeated. With which tumult the Lord *Fitzwalter*, and the Bastard of *Salisbury*, suspecting a mutanie among their owne Souldiers, rose hastily from their beds, and comming downe encounterd a remorseleſſe enemie, who denyed all quarter, and on the place slew them.

The losse of this so comodious passage & slaughter of such eminent persons came first to the eare of the Earle of *Warwicke*: who somewhat too much transported with the evill fate of their first attempt posted in all haste to King *Edward*: in whose presence he kil'd his horse, and layd. Sir God have mercy on their soules, who for love of you in the beginning of your enterprise, have lost their lives; yet let him flye who will flye: by this crosse (kissing the hilts of his sword) I will stand by him, who will stand by me, fall backe, fall edge.

Words certainely, though mingled with a high resolution, strangely distemperd: and representing so much of danger, as might have troubled the courage of the Armie. And howsoever partiall history in mentioning the actions of great men, will not allow them to participate with the vulgar in the weakenesses incident to humane nature; yet every greatest Spirit hath his allay of imbecillitie. The most knowing Scholler hath found a period, beyond which his curious search could not move: the wisest Politician hath discovered where he err'd, and blusht at the mistake: and the boldest

boldeſt ſouldier at ſome time hath found the Coward tremble in him. We may by our endevors raiſe nature ſomewhat above her frailtie: but never triumph over her till death.

And certainely *Warwicke* was too much amaz'd at this accident: but ſoone he ſetled himſelfe, and by his ſtout comportment animated the fainting armie. But King *Edward*, whoſe youth was beautified with valour and wiſdome, even to wonder, ſoberly entertaind this ſad report: and to oppoſe againſt any feare, which might ſhake the Souldier, caus'd immediate Proclamation to be made, That it was lawfull for any man whom the preſent loſſe, or feare of future danger diſcouraged, ſafely to depart: that whoſoever ſhould performe the dutie of a Souldier and fight manfully, ſhould have a certaine and a moſt large reward: On the contrary, to any man who ſhould continue in the Armie, and hereafter flye away, the ſevereſt puniſhment, and liberty for any one to kill ſuch a coward, with promiſe of double pay.

No man accepted the offer of ſo contem'd a ſafety: and indeede the body of his Armie conſiſted of *Southerne* men, whoſe flight had perhaps beene as unſafe as the preſent danger. Moreover the example of the valiant perſwaded the reſt, who bluſht to appeare ſingle in their feares: whereby not being knowne they grew afterward to have equall title, with the moſt daring to a glorious victory.

The King ſeeing the Spirit of his Armie ſo bold, and ſo devoted to his ſervice, thought the loſſe of time might endanger the loſſe of his deſigne: and thereupon reſolv'd with the firſt convenience to

bring his Fortune to the tryall of a battell. The Lord *Fauconbrige* and Sir *Walter Blunt*, in regard the Duke of *Norfolke* was then disabled by sicknesse, had the leading of the vaunt-guard. Who finding the passage of *Ferrybrig* impossible on the sudden to obtaine, three miles by-hand, at *Castleford* past the River: and soone after about *Wadingdale* discovered the Lord *Clifford*, whom they suddenly overtooke and encompast, in vaine laboring to retire to the maine battell. But hee perceiving no way to lead from his Enemies but through death: with his small Forces even to the envie of them who overcame, till shot with an arrow through the throate he perisht. The Lord *John Nevill* Sonne to the Earle of *Westmerland* with almost all those unfortunate troopes fell there with their Leader the Lord *Clifford*. Who in too milde a manner payd then the great debt hee owed, the murder of the young Earle of *Rutland*.

Next day being Palme Sunday, early in the morning both Armies came in sight: A fatall meeting, which like the union of the soule with the body, never parts but by death. The field was betweene *Saxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this battell afterward tooke name. On full Survey of King *Henries* host so dreadfull in advantage of number: Proclamation was made in King *Edwards* Campe that no quarter should be given nor prisoner taken. A necessary cruelty not to be avoyded but with danger of his owne ruine: In regard otherwise the common Souldier might in hope of spoyle or of the ransome of an enemie, bee wanting to his duty.

It was about the houre of nine, when the Armies drew neere: threescore thousand for *Lancaster*

ſten, for Yorke ſcarce forty thouſand; only the preſence and courage of King *Edward* made an equality. The Lord *Fauconbridge* to whom the Van was committed, and who was moſt able for the place, when the fight was ready to begin, charg'd his Archers, ſoone as they had ſhot, to fall three ſtrides backe, and make a ſtand, whereby they might avoyd the arrowes of the Enemie, which ſtratagem happen'd as was expected, for the Northerne men with a ſudden fury anſwered the onſet, and having emptied their quivers haſted to hand blowes. But the Arrowes which they had diſcharged, having never reacht them againſt whom they were ſhot, turned nowy to their annoiance and trouble, ſo far that the ſplinters of them ſticking in the ground peirſt and gauld their feet, and forc'd them to a confus'd ſtop. In this trouble the Southerne men ſhot another flight, and the vvind conſpiring vvith their cunning blevv a tempeſt of haile and ſnovy into their faces: by vvhich the Vantguard of King *Henry* led by the Earle of Northumberland and *Andrew Trollop* gave backe.

Yet did not the maine battell tremble vvith this motion; but as if the enemie had gain'd no advantage, continued vvith the firſt conſtancie. Ten houres victory hung in ſuſpence: equall courage on both ſides, equall hopes in the good, equall deſpaires in the bad ſucceſſe, vvch occaſion'd ſo much cruelty in the fight. But at length (the field ſtaind vvith blood, and the earth groaning vvith the burden of ſo many heapes of dead and dying bodies) the Northerne men began to hope for ſafety onely in flight. Neither did they yeeld to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemie, untill their courages vvere

dismayd with sight of so many eminent persons slaine before their eyes. For the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the Lords *Beaumont D'acres*, *Gray* and *Wells* with divers others of greatest reputation for Nobility and courage had already falne, and in their slaughter taught the survivers what to expect. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, seeing all things desperate, the greater part of the Armie slaine, the rest broken and flying: posted to *Yorke*, to carry the fatall newes of this overthrow to the unfortunate King: whose vertue yet had a patience greater than his ruine.

In no battle was ever powred forth so much *English* blood: for in this and the two precedent dayes were slaine, sixe and thirty thousand, seven hundred seventy sixe persons: all of one nation, many neere in alliance, some in blood, fatally divided by faction: yet all animated with the same zeale to maintaine their Princes right: which being so difficult to resolve, doubtlesse made the quarrell on either side, how ruinous soever to their families, not unsafe to their Consciences. And it is worthy observation, that in this so long and cruell conflict betweene the two houses, never any stranger of name was present at our battels: as if we had disdained to conquer or perish by other weapons than our owne.

King *Henry* perceiving how desperate his hopes were in *England*, with the poore remaines of his partie, secured himselfe by flight into *Scotland*. And with such haste, that before King *Edward* got to *Yorke* (where he hoped to have surpris'd him dismaid with the late discomfiture) nothing was there left but the Citie humbly devoted to the

dispose

disposed of the Conqueror. But on the walls yet remained the heads of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* and his friends, an ignominious spectacle, unluckily there standing to instance him to cruelty. For on sight of so barbarous an injurie, he gave present command that *Thomas* Earle of *Devonshire* should be beheaded with three others taken in the former battle: that these new heads might relieve them who had stood centinell so long; and that his father and friends might not want that busie part of the body to be inclosed with them in the grave. An action too much favouring of the ancient Heathen: the soules of Christians no way requiring their murders to be revenged, or their injuries appeas'd with such an offering.

After this dire oblation, he sent part of his Forces to cleere the coast toward *Scotland*, from the dregges of warre: where to terrifie that people prone to innovation in King *Henries* quarrell, some examples of severitie were made. In the interime he with as glorious triumph and large joy as victory could beget, which begot no lesse to him than absolute Soveraignety, marcht toward *London*. By the inhabitants whereof, who were deepely interessed in his Fortune, he was with all the solemnity of a secure gladnesse entertaind. To the triumph of his entrance, soone succeeded that of his Coronation, perform'd with usuall ceremonies, but most unusuall congratulations.

Immediately, that no circumstance of Soveraintie might be wanting, a Parlament was Summond: By which his title might be reconfirm'd, his partakers rewarded, his enemies punisht. And though private respects were his chiefe businesse, desiring to disanull all acts made heretofore

forein prejudice to the house of *York* and his adherents: yet the outward pretention was the safety and quiet of the Realm. For he publickly profest his onely care to be, that such wholesome lawes might be enacted, as might redresse disorders crept into the state, by free license given to rapin in the former troubles: By which appearence of solicitude for quieting the republique, he gain'd authority among the wise, and created a beleefe in all, that his governement in peace would be as fortunate, as his successe in warre. Having by his wisedome and providence thus won opinion upon the generality, he bestowed his graces on particular persons, whom blood in merit rendred deare to him. His brothers *George* and *Richard* he created Dukes, the elder of *Clarence*, the younger of *Gloucester*. *John* Lord *Nevill* the Earle of *Warwickes* brother, he made Vicount *Mountague*, *Henry Bourchier* brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Earle of *Essex*: and *William* Lord *Fauconbrige* Earle of *Kent*. He erected divers others to the Title of Barons, and honour'd many with Knighthood. The conclusion of this great assembly was punishment: for *John* Earle of *Oxford*, *Aubery Vere* his sonne, Sir *John Tiddenham* Knight, *William Tirrell* and *Walter Mowtgomery* Esquires, were without a jury convict of treason and beheaded. A rough proceeding which favord something too much of the Conqueror.

Businesses thus happily setled at home, to check the audaciousnesse of our transmarin neighbours (who had throwne injuries on our Nation weakned by discord) the Earles of *Essex* and *Kent* with the Lord *Audley* were sent with ten thousand souldiers to scowre the narrow Seas; who first, landing

ding in *Britaine* tooke the Towne of Conquest: and afterward in the Isle of Re, pillag'd that little Country, and with victory returned. By which enterprise, though of no signall consequence to his affaires, yet King *Edward* gave the *French* to understand how unsafe it was to irritate the *English* govern'd by an active Prince, who might perhaps hereafter in person appeare abroade, for the recovery of those Provinces, nothing but our dissention could have lost. As likewise to terrifie all fortune-slaves from adhering to King *Henry*, who both in courage and fortune was so farre inferiour.

And now was the prosperitie of *Edward* in so full splendor, and so darke a cloud hung over the house of *Lancaster*: that *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* and Sir *Raph Percy* forsooke the ruines of that famely, they had so long endeavour'd to support. To King *Edward* the submission of two so eminent persons appear'd as welcome as a victory: and they by his favour were presently restored to full possession both of honour and estate: the same grace promist to any, whom their example should perswade.

Yet did not the indefatigible Queene loose any thing from her spirit or endeavours: Her late so sad disconsolate, and revolt now of her chiefe adherents, able perhaps to breake her fortune, not her. And having upon full reckoning, perceived that she must account of no powre at home: she made her addresses to all Princes abroad, whom alliance, reason of state, or compassion of so great a disaster, might move to her assistance. But, as it is in the fate of all women who usurpe on their husbands, she had beene unhappie in mariage of

his

his prosperitie: and now was much more incapable to oppose against his so great and constant infelicity. Great undertakings being seldome successfull in that sexe, whose government over man, as in nature it is monstrous, so for the most, in it selfe it hath beene disorderly and ruinous. But certainely how erronious, however heretofore, she was now defective onely in the event, which is not ruled by ours, but by a higher minde.

For with the King of *Scotland* (with whom as in the neerest place of safety, she left her husband) to confirme a secure friendship, she contracted a neere alliance: by promising the young Prince her sonne in marriage to his sister. And that this marriage might not seeme a gift but a bargaine, shee bought the Lady by delivery of *Barwicke* into the Scots hands, the strongest Fort the *English* had in the North. But the unfortunate are ever losers in their traffique: and forst to purchase what otherwise they would with difficulty be perswaded to receive.

With *Lewes* the Eleventh the *French* King, she prevail'd little, though neere to him in consanguinity: for the discontent of his Nobility, held him in continuall suspition. Otherwise she had title to promise her selfe large supplies from so potent and politicke a Prince, whose interest it must in reason have beene, by fomenting discord at home, to hinder us from any attempt abroad. After much sollicitation, she obtain'd that he declared himselfe for King *Henry*: By prohibiting all favorers of the house of *Yorke* accesse into the *French* dominions, and opening them to all those of the party of *Lancaster*. A negative kinde of helpe, which rather showed there yet was Sanctu-

ary

ary left for *Henries* unhappie friends, than any considerable ayde to be expected. *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, though a mighty Prince, and neere allyed to *Lancaster* (by whose wives mother was *Philippa*, daughter to *John* of *Gaunt*) by age, and a passionate love to quiet, was become altogether unactive. Neither had *Charles* Earle of *Charolois*, his sonne, though of a daring Spirit, and an affecter of warre, leisure to looke over into our Island: being engaged to domestick troubles, and suspitious of the designes of the *French* King.

With *Charles*, the Duke of *Britaine* held a strong confederacie: and both of them intelligences with the discontented Lords of *France*. The warre which was afterward so knowne by the name of the Weale-Publique being at that time among them privately in contrivance: so that all these neighbouring Princes, to whom the affaires of *England* might seeme considerable, were wholly taken up with attention to their owne.

The Emperor *Frederick* the third was more remote, and so cautious from entring into the quarrels of other men, that by any Art & even with losse he would decline his owne. Moreover he justly stood in continuall fear of the growing Fortune of the *Turke*: who having lately subverted the Easterne, threatned now ruine to the Westerne Empire: and questionlesse had not the great God of Armies miraculously given a stop to his victories, Christendome had now beene onely severall Provinces slaved to his tyrannie. For pride and emulation had then turn'd our Armes upon our selves, and left our bodies naked to the scourge of

of the common enemie.

Spaine was far off, divided betweene a Christian and *Mahometan* government, each labouring the extirpation of the other, for that they had liberty to be Actors in no Tragedie but their owne. And indeede no conflict is so fierce and irreconcilable, as when Religion animates to warre, and makes it pietie to be cruell.

To her Father therefore, who enjoyed the specious title of King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Hierusalem*, but possession of none of them, the afflicted Queene was forc't to make a sad retreate. A poore contemptible Lord, living now to see his sonne in Law, once the greatest Monarch of the Christian world, a Prince as meerely titular as himselfe. As if it had beene the Fate of these two, that the one could say, he might have beene, the other that once he was a King.

Leaving therefore forraigne States intentive to their owne designes: with her sonne, whom to move compassion she had carried up and downe: the Queene return'd to *Scotland*: by her long but unsuccesfull labour, having gathered together five hundred *French*: a number so small and so unworthy the name of an Armie, that it was but a competent retinue for so great a Princesse. With these nevertheless she sayld to *Tinmouth*, whence she was repulst by the inhabitants soone as shee landed, and forc't againe to put to Sea. But there (for where may the unfortunate meete with friendship?) she found the winds her enemies, whose unruly force drave her at length disorderly to *Barwicke*.

Heere some thinne regiments of *Scots* resorted to her, in compahy of whom she entred *Northumberland*:

beyond: her husband marching in the Front, that the name and presence of King *Henry* might invite the people to their ancient service, and adde Authority to the designe. But soone shee found her error, for hope, not compassion perswades to danger; and the Commonalty sate still, when by rising they understood themselves onely likely to share in the Kings misfortune. For having upon a just account discoverd how warre is onely necessary to the most desperate, and that in the end it leaves them to nothing but beggery and punishment they were reconcil'd to the love of peace, and every man betooke himselfe to industry. And for the Nobility, the King had won them either by the reputation of his fortune, or terror of his courage, so that no man of eminencie resolv'd to change subjection. Onely *Henry* Duke of *Sommerset*, and Sir *Ralph Percie*, who not long before had forsooke King *Henry* in his tempest, now upon a false hope of fairer weather fled backe agen. For it is a ridiculous cunning in Historians to ascribe the actions of great men perpetually to pollicie; since irresolution prevailes equally in them as with the vulgar. And why might not desperation beget submission in these two to King *Edward*, and a vaine apparence of a returne of fortune to King *Henries* side, perswade them to this last revolt?

Vpon this so weake accesse of power, Queene *Margaret*, perceiving so unsound friendship in her husbands native Country, destroy'd it as if an enemie's. And wanting force to reach the prosperitie of her Competitor, fell truelly upon the Common people, who had hitherto beene onely subjects to his Fortune, bearing inwardly a most

passionate love to the family of *Lancaster*. But this outrageous carriage of the Armie, chang'd absolutely their affections to the Queene: Who was questionlesse by necessitie compell'd to things unlawfull, whereby to prevent the disbanding of her Forces, which were onely payd, and kept together by a licencious spoyle.

To oppose against this attempt, which onely betray'd the weaknesse of the Enemie, King *Edward* sent downe the Lord *Mountague*: himselfe staying behind to raise an Armie, befitting the greatnesse of his name, and present quarrell. Giving likewise order that his Navie should guard the Seas, to hinder any succours to the Queene from forraigne confederates. But this was an unnecessary caution: no state abroad being so desperate, as to imbarque it selfe in the broken seas of her Fortune.

Mountague at Land had a braver occasion to shew his courage: who having in the Bishoprick of *Duresme* gathered convenient Forces, marcht directly against King *Henry*. By the way the Lords *Hungerford*, and *Rosse*, and Sir *Ralph Percie* presented themselves to hinder his farther course: but perceiving the good order and courage of his Armie, all fled but the valiant *Percie*. Who disdaining to reprive his life beyond his honour, or to shew the least weakenesse beneath his name or Spirit, fought it out with his regiment, till overprest with number, he and his were all cut to peeces.

Encourag'd with this successe *Mountague* attempts, without expectation of any farther succour or direction, to finish the present warre: and immediately marches to a plaine neere the

River *Dowell* in Hexamshire, where King *Henries* Armie lay encamped. The Campe he ſodainly aſſaults in the night, and had taken it without any reſiſt, had not the enemie beyond expectation gathered themſelves into ſome order and valiantly oppoſed. But no courage could withſtand the Fortune and ſpirit of *Montague*; for the Queenes Campe at length was loſt, and in it taken the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Roſſe*, *Moulins* and *Huſſie*, with *Wentworth* and *Finderne* Knights. *Somerſet* on the place loſt his head: the reſt ſent to *Newcaſtle* to ſuffer there the ſame puniſhment. But King *Henry* and the Queene eſcaped at the firſt onſet: whoſe Tragedy drew not yet neere the laſt Act.

King *Edward* whoſe Fortune fought for him, even in his abſence, encountred the newes of this victory in his march toward *Duriſme*: ſo that finding the preſence of his perſon and Armie needleſſe he returned toward *Yorke*: Giving command to *Warwicke* to take in all the Forts and Caſtles which yet in the North held out. On the way he was certified of the apprehenſion of King *Henries* perſon, who was ſurprized as he endeavored by ſhifting from place to place to have recovered *Scotland*. With the joy of which report King *Edward* returned to *London*, whether as yet hee never came but glorious in the acceſſion of ſome new Triumph.

The ſonne of Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Lancaſhire*, apprehended King *Henry* as he ſate at dinner at *Waddington* Hall, and forgetting all reſpect due to ſo great a Prince, like a common malefactor, with his legges tyed under the horſe belly, guarded him up toward *London*. By the way the Earle of *Warwick* met him, who adding indignities to his

affliction, with the general reproaches of the people (the acclamations they give to the unfortunate) led him prisoner to the Tower. The onely companions of his present calamity, were Doctor *Manning* Deane of *Windsore*, and Doctor *Beale*: both of so divine a calling, as shewed no misfortune could seperate him from his Pieqe.

The miserable Queene seeing the desolation of her greatnesse, her husband imprison'd, all her great partakers fled or slaughter'd, made againe her retreate into *France*: and with her sonne (whose preservation flatter'd her with some hope that one day he might rebuild the now ruin'd house of *Lancaster*) fled to her fathers Court: A most wretched Sanctuary to her feares: where she had onely leisure by long sufferance to prepare her minde for future misery.

But this her dejection rais'd *Edward* up to an unsuspicious Soveraignise: so that now he began to set strong the disjoynted body of his Kingdome. And knowing liberalitie the onely ligament that ties affection to a Prince, he resolv'd by attaindor of his enemies to enable himselfe to reward the services of his friends. And though hee pretended the gate of mercie ever to stand open to the submission of the *Lancastrians*, yet few or none accepted the favour: either distrustfull of his reallitie, or feeding their hopes with imagination that the tide of Fortune would not still flow with so impetuous a torrent.

But King *Edward* disdaining a faction so contemptible in their ruine, should disdaine his clemencie, proceeded to punishment. The Earledome of *Pembrooke*, an honour heretofore enjoy'd by *Jasper Teuther* halfe brother to *Henry* the sixth,

 he

he bestowed on Sir *William Herbert* a Knight of *Wales*, both for descent and power most eminent, and to whose ayde a great part of the present fortune was owing. To the Lord *Montague*, whose person and service he equally lov'd, he gave the opulent possessions belonging to the family of the *Percies*.

But the most open hand cannot satisfie the expectation of great deservers: who set so high a price upon their merits, that they leave their Princes no power of reward. The greatest benefit being received in the degree of a debt, not a gift. And certainely *Mountague* and his brother *Warwicke* had by too much merit even disobleig'd the King: what honour soever they were in future to have, being so little able to cancell the obligation, it could scarce defray the interest. And in that way was this title and inheritance accepted, which gave the King occasion to distaste whom otherwise he would with passion have embrac'd. Whereupon reflecting on the danger of adding power to them, who wanted onely will to doe mischiefe, and knowing how easily innovation might be resolv'd on, when nothing but the conscience was to be perswaded: he began seriously to wish the mightinesse of that family (hee owed the crowne to) in some degree lessend. Yet that hee might no way appeare unthankefull to so great deserts, he thought fit to weaken their strength, and yet to adde to the splender of their title. Whereupon he willingly admitted the friends of *Percie* to intercede for restitution both of honor and revenue, and soone granted it: Rewarding *Mountague* with the more specious stile of Marquesse. But this state-tricke was by

the brothers easily understood, and accepted with the same brow they would have entertained an injurie.

Which the King dissembled; and to build his estimation high in the eyes of popular applause, endeavored by all the Arts of humble greatnesse to endeare himselfe into the opinion of the multitude. His presence was easie to any man's love or curiositie, his aspect cleere and smiling, his language free and familiar. And to the Ladies who have also their share in the motion of States, he applyed a generall courtship: which used by a Prince and of so amiable a personage, made them, usually the Idolls of others, Idolaters of him. Among his Nobility he was so supple in gesture, and liberall in affability, that he appeard King, not in his assumption of state, but in their application of duty. This to winne outward applause: while to settle an inward sence of his wisdome, he looked into abuses of Officers, and reformed them. Neither was there any oppression or mistake in government, but what he releiv'd or corrected. And that it might appeare how zealously hee sought due administration of justice, he in person sate three dayes together on his Bench at Westminster Hall: which though it little advanced the uncorrupted execution of the lawes, yet it serv'd happily for example, and created, what hee then most courted, opinion.

Thus he grew upon his people at home, while abroade the neighbouring States began to decline the danger of his future enmitie: who ever measure the power of Princes by that sway and affection they have among their subjects. *Charles* Earle of *Charolois* (a widdower but without heire male)

male) heire to a large and opulent territory (the seventeene Provinces with the Dutchie and County of *Burgundie*, and the greatest part of *Picardie*, being subject to Duke *Philip* his Father) first made his addresse. Who bearing an implacable hatred to *Lewis* of *France*, desired to gaine so potent a neighbour to his party, and that he might secure the friendship against all vacillation, he by his Embassadors entreated a marriage with the Lady *Margaret*, the Kings sister. A motion heard in *England* with much acceptance, and which every circumstance well weigh'd, brought both honour and securitie. But it was thought by some intimate with the Earle in his most inward counsells, that really he never intended this marriage: having from his mother, neece to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* deriv'd an irreconcilable malice against the house of *Yorke*. And that this negotiation aim'd onely to temporize with *England*, in case the Duke of *Brittaine* and the *French* Kings brother should desert him and make their peace with *Lewis*: against whom these three were then in confederacie: but this I beleeve an overcunning in conjecture, since marriage among Princes, as it seldome confirmes a sound friendship, so doth it never extirpate an ancient hatred: the proofe of our and all times shewing how false a love is created by alliance. But the thoughts of Princes are so unknowne to Posterity, that they are beyond the scrutinie of the present time. I will not therefore dispute what the Earles inward designes were, but certainely both according to reason of state and the event (which is the best light Historians can discerne by) as it was pretended so was it intended.

The

The marriage of his sister, thus far advanc'd, he began to advise with Counsell concerning his owne. A strong alliance abroad was soone resolved most necessary both for the dignity and safety of his Crowne: and amongst all the Princesses that time gloried in, the Lady *Bona* was thought worthyest his bed. In respect of the excellence of her beauty, greatnesse of birth (as being daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*) and the mighty marriage of her other sister with *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*. This last consideration being a maine inducement: as by which all feare might bee taken away of a tempest from that coast, whence Queene *Margaret* seem'd to prepare a storme.

To this negotiation the Earle of *Warwicke* was deputed as the fittest person, both for his great faith to the King, and authority in the Kingdome. Who no sooner arriv'd at the *French* Court, where the young Lady then resided, in company of her sister, but was withall triumph entertain'd, and his motion heard with joy and acceptation.

The ambition of the *French* Queene to have her sister married to so great a Prince prevailing against many politique respects, which might else have overswayd King *Lewis*. And soone after for an absolute conclusion of all businesses *Mounsiur D'ampmartin* was design'd Embassador for *England*. These two Kings equally solliciting the perfection of this marriage. *Edward* that hee might without feare of more danger enjoy the glory of a late recover'd Kingdome. *Lewis*, that freed from the danger of an *English* invader, he might give a period to his busie projects at home, by laying the deuill of civill warre, rais'd by a tumultuous Nobility.

But

But while policie acted severall parts abroade; love on the suddaine chang'd the whole Scenie at home. For the Young King after hunting comming to visite the Duches of *Bedford* at her Mansion of *Grafton* neere *Stony Stratford*, was solicited by a faire petitioner the Duchesses daughter, widow of Sir *John Gray*, slaine on King *Henries* part at the battaile of S^t. *Albans*. The King could not but yeeld to any request made by so conquering a beauty, and presently himselfe grew as earnest in solliciting her, but in a more unlawfull suite. But she arm'd her soule with a modesty able to breake the hottest battery of lust: and though on every side assaulted by the engines of temptation, shee repulst her enemie so nobly, that he offer'd parly upon honorable tearmes. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with a chastitie strong enough to resist him, who had scarce ever beene but victorious in those attempts, he grew enamor'd on the beauty of her minde, and resolv'd her vertue was dowre enough to marry her to the highest Throne. Reason of state argued sharpely against a marriage so unequall to Majestie, by alleaging the perill of irritating so potent a neighbour as King *Lewis*, and so dangerous a subject as *Warwick*, as likewise the inconvenience of raising a widdow to his bed, who could bring nothing with her but her poverty, and an unprovided issue: Who if not advanc'd by him would bee a scorne to his children, if advanc'd a ruinous charge to his Exchequer, and an envie both to the Princes of his blood, and the Nobility of his Kingdome. But Love like a cunning Sophister easily refell'd all pollitique arguments, and perswaded reason her selfe almost to be of his side.

For

For he repeated to the King his owne prerogative, which being so large, why should he then be denyed the liberty of a free choyce, which is allowed the meanest subject? Why might not he woo'e with his owne eyes, and make election where his fancie best delighted? As for the Lady her selfe he found her in the treasures of her minde most abundant, and in the perfections of her body excellent to please him, who, and not the state, was to marry. For her birth, she was by the father Noble in descent at home, by her mother of the house of *Luxenbourge*, a family with which the greatest Princes of Christendome had neere alliance. As for marrying a subject and the widdow of his enemie: the later argued more charity, and the former could not but tye the affection of his people, when they saw their Prince disdain'd not affinity with them. For a president to authorize these his intended Nuptialls, he had *Edward* the Blacke Prince his great Vncle, great indeede if not the greatest, among all the Princes of his name. And for the threatned danger from King *Lewis* or the Earle of *Warwicke*: from *France* he could never expect how neere so ever the alliance had beene but an unfaithfull amitie: and should this his marriage thrust *Warwicke* upon rebellious attempts, the rebell would but fondly runne upon his owne ruine: since it could not stand with the Majestie of a King, to hold his Crowne by so base a tenure, as to have his actions awed by a subject. These and such like arguments, which love is cunning upon all occasions to enforce, prevail'd so far that though the old Duches of *Yorke* his mother most violently opposed, by throwing the highest calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alleaging

ging a precontract with the Lady *Lucy*, yet not sobrning secretly did he marry her. For the disparity of birth or Fortune is no impediment, and for the precontract: upon examination the Lady *Lucy* her self acquitted the King, only laying to his charge the guilt of a most winning courtship. And though afterward, during the usurpation of *Richard* the third, in open Parlament was alleaged against the lawfulnesse of King *Edwards* marriage, strange potions and amorous charmes by which the Lady *Elizabeth Grey* bewitcht him to her love, and likewise another precontract with the Lady *Eleanor Butler* daughter to the Earle of *Shrewsbury* and widdow to the Lord of *Sudlye*; I cannot but believe all those scandals by some of the tyrants wicked instruments, suggested into the minides of that assembly. For had there beene a just exception against this marriage, neither *George* Duke of *Clarence*, nor the Earle of *Warwicke*, in their frequent calumnies against the King being in open rebellion, had left it unmention'd.

But no sooner had King *Edward* obey'd his fancie in taking her to his bed, and in that tasted the forbidden fruite (forbidden I meane by politique respects) but he saw himselfe naked, of friends at home and abroade, to oppose against any new arising difficulty. But as yet by the bravery of his carriage did he adde an honour to the act. Courage and Love, either denying him to foresee or to regard the danger. Though as soone as the marriage was devulged, hee presently discern'd another face of men. *Monsieur D'emphartin* the Extraordinary for *France*, full of indignation, return'd and the Nobility in generall look't discontented, or else but fore'd a smile. The so high advance-

advancement of this one Lady and her children, lately beneath so many in fortune, begetting an universall envie in the rest. But when the Earle of *Warwicke* understood how mighty an affront by this was given to his imployment, he entertain'd none but disdainefull thoughts against his Prince. And exprest so bold a discontent, that *Lewis* of *France*, who was quicke to perceive, and carefull to foment any displeasure, which might tend to the disturbance of another Kingdome, began to enter into private communication with him. For ever after this common injury, (so they cal'd the errour of love in the King) the Earle held a dangerous intelligence in *France*, which after occasion'd so many confusions to our Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe upon his return he dissembled all discontent, and in every circumstance of respect applyed himselfe to applaude the mariage, and in particular the excellent personage of the Queene. The King interpreted the intentions of the man according to the apparance, unwilling perhaps to racke his owne nature so farre till it had confest that his carriage might dissemble danger. And in the meane time to raise his wives kindred as neere as possibly to his owne greatneſſe, hee searcht out all meanes for their advancement. The Lord *Richard Widdevill* her Father he created Earle of *Rivers*, and High Constable of *England*, with an annuall Fee of 500 pound out of the Exchequer, whom shortly after he made Lord Treasurer. Her brother *Anthony* hee created Lord *Scales*, the daughter and heire to which title, by the Kings earnest sollicitation, he not long before had wedded. And her sonne *Thomas* hee raised to the honour of Marquesse *Dorset*, for whom he pro-

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cured in marriage the heire of the Lord *Bonvile* and *Harrington*. By his owne free gift enobling them with titles, and by the industry of his mediation enabling them with possessions, to make those titles no scorne to the owners.

Every unmarried Lord imagin'd the bestowing of these two great heires on the Queenes kindred, an injury to his owne hopes: And *Warwick* thought every great office confer'd upon another, misplac'd. For his many Services begot so great an insolencie, that he scarce allowed the King a share in the distribution of his owne: Hereupon his thoughts grew dangerous, and onely opportunity was wanting to thrust him into action. He consider'd the vastnesse of his possessions, the greatnesse of his authority among the Commons, and the generall dependancies of the men of war upon him, and hence concluded, it was as easie for him to uncreate as to create a King. But hee found the generall humor of the kingdome not yet fully ripe for mischiefe: the vulgar enamor'd on the much curtesie of their Prince, the Lords neereſt to him in blood & likeliest to incline to his Faction deare likewise to the King, and all of the house of *Lancaster* who by probability would at first invitement take fire in any combustion of the state, exil'd and poore. Sedition therefore for the present was but an embrion in his braine, which after when time had deliver'd, became so vast and bloody a monster. Nevertheless hee was not unmindfull of his designe, cherishing unkinde thoughts in any whom he saw distasted at the King, and casting forth speeches which might lessen the honour of his publicke and private actions: with which discourses, as with slow poysons,

he infected many limbes of the generall body. Then upon pretention of infirmity, and prescription of Phisitions for the change of ayre, with licence from the King he retired to his Castle at *Warwicke*. Where his observation was, what Lords great in power or treasure reforted to him, and with what countenance, whether they undervalued the weakeneſſe of the Kings judgement, or hated the advancement of the Queene and her kindred: whether they were troubled at any private repulſe or open affront, or generally at the publicke buſineſſe: or whether they repented not the ſo violent oppreſſion of the family of *Lancaſter*: Any diſcontent making for his purpoſe, which either pointed at the errors of the King, pride of the Queene and her kindred, or the miſgovernment of the ſtate. Vpon the affections of the meaner ſort he gain'd by a profuſe hoſpitality, an open kitchen and buttery perſwading more with them than any dutie to juſtice. Vpon the good will of the better ſort he wonne, by bowing his entertainment downe to an endearing familiarity, ſaluting every man curteouſly by his name, and engaging them by trivial benefits. And with all ſorts by his great ſervice to the Crowne, and a carriage Noble both in warre and peace.

The King, though he wanted that vertue of cowards, ſuſpicion, began nevertheleſſe to have the Earle in ſome jealouſie: his unuſuall retiredneſſe from the Court, and ſo expenceful purchaſing the voyce of the people, argued both diſtaſte againſt his Prince, and a hope to maintaine any unlawfull enterpriſe by Faction. But either in politick he diſſembled his diſtruſt, not having yet any firme ground to build a juſt accuſation, or in good na-

ours would eclipse the Earles greatnesse, by which himselfe enjoy'd a benefit little lesse than the Crowne. But that the storme threatned from *France*, for incensing King *Lewis* in the discourst marriage of the Lady *Bona*, might be diverted, he made strong confederacies round about him. With *Henry* King of *Castle*, and *John* King of *Arragon*, that *Spaine*, however far remote, might bee neere in friendship, he enter'd into league: and upon the conclusion of it, granted licence for the transportation of certaine *Cotswold* sheepe thither, a grant that is complain'd of still, as a mighty enriching to the *Spanish*, and as great an empoverishing to the *English* Merchant. With *Scotland* hee made a truce for fifteene yeeres, that he invading *France*, or invaded by the *French*, might be secure however not to have that Nation, according to their custome upon all advantages enemies at his backe. His Ambassadors in the Low Countries, urged the Duke of *Burgundie* to the accomplishment of the marriage betweene his sonne the Earle of *Charolois*, and the Lady *Margaret* the Kings sister. And so happie successe had this negotiation, that though for some yeares it had hung in suspence, it was now absolutely agreede on, and the Bastard of *Burgundy* sent over with full instructions and power to give the Treatie a small conclusion. For whatsoever dissimulation the Earle of *Charolois* used at first, he now intended this marriage seriously. In regard hee found himselfe lye open to the malice of King *Lewis* a most dangerous Neighbour, who by pollicie or Fortune had broken all those great confederacies the Earle had before in *France*. Wherefore there was now no safety but in arming himselfe by a strict amity with

the *English*, a Nation forward and fierce to attempt any thing upon the *French*, and in their attempts scarce ever but prosperous. Neither was the courage of the Kings youth, and his continuall good successe in warre a small inducement: considering it gave a certaine hope, that he upon any invitation of honour or profit might be perswaded to crosse the Seas, & undertake the ancient national quarrel. And for the danger of any alteration in the government, there was then no ground for suspition: the King honour'd and loved by his people, the adverse faction of no power, and the Earle of *Warwicke* having never yet declared himselfe but most passionately affected to the house of *Yorke*. Wherefore in reason of state being no impediment, the marriage was soone agreed on, and upon the agreement, many triumphs glorious but martiall, according to the nature of that time, so devoted to Armes.

But to interrupt the jollity of these Triumphs, an expresse came from the Low-Countries, with the newes of the death of Duke *Phillip*. Presently the Bastard returnd, and our Councell stood at a gaze, being in some suspence what alteration the businesse might receive, the Earle now absolute in possession of his Fathers dominions. But that scruple was soone taken away, by an Ambassador sent to hasten the full performance of the marriage. Whereupon the Lady was carried over with all the ceremonies of greatnesse, and at *Burges* married to Duke *Charles*: that Nation which then exceeded all the World in bravery and riot, exceeding even it selfe, at this triumph, in the wantonnesse of a superfluous pompe. In those Countries she lived some while his wife, though ever

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barren with as much love from him, as hee could ſpare from his ambitious warres, but ſhe continued long his widdow in much reputation among the Natives and good eſteeme with neighboring Princes. Two things rendred her much the diſcourſe of thoſe times. An extraordinary love and care in the education of the poſterity of her husband, and an extreame malice againſt *Henry* the ſeventh. To ſupplant whom, becauſe there wanted true, ſhe countenanc'd the ſuppoſititious Princes of the houſe of *Yorke*; and by continuall practiſes revenged in part, the injury of that diſreſpect, he ever caſt upon her family.

This ſo potent alliance, and his confederacies with forraigne ſtates, made King *Edward* imagine himſelfe in great ſecurity, when indeede hee was moſt unſafe. For during theſe treaties abroade and triumphes at home, the Earle of *Warwicke* quickned ſo farre his deſignes, that now there appear'd a dangerous life in them. The body of his Faction was grown mighty but monſtrous, being compacted of ſeverall natures. For into conſpiracie of this great enterpriſe he had drawne off the Clergie, and the Laity, and moſt of them of affections moſt oppoſite. The Archbiſhop of *Yorke* was the principall mover, becauſe he moved upon the ſoule, and made treaſon an act of Religion. The eaſie multitude who builde their faith upon the man, not the Doctrine, thinking it meritorious to rebell, in regard his function ſeem'd to give authority to the action. With the Archbiſhop the Marqueſſe *Montague* conſented, but ſecretly, either cunningly diſſembling miſchiefe, or elſe wiſhing well to both ſides being in himſelfe devided betweene a naturall love to a brother, and an alle-

allegiance to a Prince: or perhaps projecting to make his benefit, out of which party soever should prevaile. With these agreed many eminent persons of King *Edwards* Court, whom either desire of warre, having never lived but in the troubled streame of discord, or want of expected recompence, renderd discontent.

All the partakers in the calamity of the house of *Lancaster*, most passionately at first overture embrac'd this motion: as men, whom desperation had prepar'd fit for the most ruinous attempt. And who, having found nothing but evill fortune at home, and contempt abroad, were instructed in a pacience ready with joy to suffer a not inglorious death. Among whom *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceter* was a sad example, who after his ruine with the fal of *Henry* the sixth was reduc'd to so miserable a condition, that all ragged and bare footed he begg'd for his meate in the Low-Countries, the absolute Prince whereof and he, matried two sisters, the daughters of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. With this so unfortunate Lord, all the rest who shared with him in misery, ranne violently into this warre. But the wonder of the world then was at the powerfull sorcerie of those perswasions, which bewitcht the Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings brother to this conspiracie: but hee was young & purblind in foreseeing the event of things Profuse in expence beyond his revenue, and almost beyond the Kings power to supply: grudging the favours confer'd upon the Queene and her kindred: Valuing his birth too high, as who forgot the brother of a King is but a subject: forward upon any termes to make himselfe greater; easily lending eare to dangerous whispers, and as rashly

rashly giving consent. These preparatives made this young Prince fit to take any mischiefe, which the Earle of *Warwicke* ministred most plentifully. And first to apply to the narrownesse of his present fortune, a humor most troublesome at the instant, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Isabell* his daughter, and coheire to the rich Earledome of *Warwicke*. In hatred against the Queene he consurd and in discontent against the Kings so slender rewards; but in promising greatnesse to *Clarences* ambition, he exceeded even proportion, though not probability: considering the Earles unlimited power. But first to make the friendship strong by a neere alliance, they saild over for the consummation of this marriage to *Callice*, of which town the Earle of *Warwicke* was Captaine, and in which the young Lady then remain'd with her mother. Soone was this ceremony past, and soone did the Earle invite his Sonne-in-Law from the softnesse of the nuptiall dalliance, as who had contrived this marriage for businesse, not for pleasure: and design'd the first issue of their embraces to bee a monster, and the most unnaturall one, Warre between brothers.

He acquainted therefore his Sonne-in-Law by what line he had sounded the depth of the peoples affection to the present King: and what a tempest he was able to raise when ever he should resolve for motion. He told him how in the North 15000 men had beene in Armes, pretending revenge upon the governours of Saint *Leonards* Hospitall in *Yorke*, for converting the Almony they receiv'd from the Country every yeare to Coine to their owne use; by which they both defrauded the poore, and the charitable intention of the owners: whereas

Whereas indeed the armed multitude moved firſt by his councell onely awaited his preſence, with reſolution to runne any hazard of his command. And though the *Marqueſſe Mountegue*, rais'd Forces in King *Edwards* name, by which he quieted the commotion, and beheaded *Robert Huldron* their chiefe Captine: yet were the people ready upon the firſt Summons to reaſſemble, and the Marqueſſe (who by ſuch apparence of fidelity had won upon the eaſie faith of the dull King) prepared to bring his forces and joyne in any enterpriſe he ſhould appoint. He ſhowed farther how by this his brothers diſſimulation, his intelligence held perfect in the Kings Councell, and all the reſolutions of ſtate might bee without difficultie prevented, ſince no ſooner made but diſcovered.

The Duke, who before held the Earles courage and authority with the people in great eſtimation, now began to wonder at the ſo cunning mannage of this great buſineſſe. Neither could he ſuſpect the ſucceſſe, the Earle having ſo order'd things, that he left little or nothing to fortune. Whereupon he gave his judgement entirely up to his Fathers in law diſcretion, with whom hee return'd into *England*, openly profeſſing and juſtifying his reſolution to rebellion. The vanity of ambition ſealing up his eyes ſo farre, that he could not perceive the unnaturalneſſe of his revolt, and the certaine hazard of ruine, in warring againſt a Prince ſo great both in armes and Fortune.

Againſt their returne the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* had wrought ſo diligently to ripen miſchiefe, that the multitude diſperſt before were againe in the field, but under Leaders of a farre more eminent

name.

name. For *Henry* Sonne to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and *Henry Nevill* sonne to the Lord *Latimer* (the one Nephew, the other Cosen germain to *Warwicke*) had the conduct of these Forces: both gentlemen great in blood and spirit, but disregarded for their unexperienc'd youth, submitting themselves to the directions of Sir *John Conyers*, a Commander bold in courage and sober in advice. Their march was not now directed against any petty Towne in the North as before, but toward *London* the head of the Kingdome, and the cause of their taking Armes, not upon any triviall injury or oppression, but out of desire of publicke justice, by throwing downe a licencious Vsurper, and re-investing in the Soveraignty King *Henry*, their lawfull Monarch, so injuriously detain'd prisoner in the Tower. This pretention carryed with it much of bravery, pleased the humor of most of the Northerne men, passionately still affected to the line of *Lancaster*, and tooke generally with the Commonalty a beast as prone to unseasonable pitty, as to inhumane cruelty, and ever desirous to change govetnement, because naturally it can endure none.

The noyse of these Armes waked King *Edward*: for he now perceiv'd his title to the Crowne, (for which he imagin'd he had had so cleere a sentence) brought againe to tryall, and the sword judge. He cast his eye about him, and found every where the way open to his jealousie, and none to security: All those Lords, from whom he might expect supply, being neere to *Warwicke* in friendship or alliance, and the Marquesse *Montague*, in whose service he had ever found most fruit and fortune, even brother to his enemie. How could he

he therefore believe, but notwithstanding all their outward professions of loyaltie, privately they might favour Rebellion? As for the Queenes kindred, (of whose faith in regard of their owne interest, he remain'd secure) he could draw little confidence. Their greatnesse so young, that it had yet taken no deepe roote in opinion, and their Forces onely weake beames shot from the Sunne of the Kings owne power. But no consideration in this trouble begot so much scorne and rage in him, as the revolt of *Clarence*, whose giddie ambition made him rather chuse to become a Ward to rough and insolent guardian, than to share with his brother a King in the treasures of Fortune. The forces of the Rebells hee weighed more by the reputation of their leader *Warwicke*, than by the number: though even that grew every day more formidable.

To prepare against these dangerous motions in his *English* Rebells, he speedily sent to the Earle of *Pembrooke* commission to raise what *Welch* Forces he could: having in this generall suspition of his disloyall subjects, most confidence in the valour of the *Welch*, and their naturall hatred against the *English* name. He required the Earle to give battell by the way, while himselfe gathered as great an Armie as the present danger, and cause in controversie required. The Earle joyfull of the command, puts suddenly into the field with his valiant brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, having under their conduct seaven thousand men. To them soone joyn'd eight hundred bow-men, led by the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwicke*, not long before created Earle of *Devonshire*. With these Forces he resolv'd to hinder the Rebells in their

journey,

journey, and having notice by espials that they tooke their way by *Northampton*, against them hee led the whole body of his Armie. Having given order to Sir *Richard Hawkes* with two thousand souldiers to wheele about, and charge the enemie in the Rere.

Sir *John Conyers* was so vigilant to be surprised, and so carefully had strengthned the Reereward, that the *Welch* were repulst with losse, and forced by flight to safety. Whereupon he retired to his brother: while *Conyers* upon new instructions, or else fearfull least *Pembrooke* in the way might gaine some advantage, diverted from his direct course to *London*, and marcht to *Warwicke*, where the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earle of *Warwicke* had levied a mighty Host. *Pembrooke* waites close upon their journey, expecting the opportunity either to cut off some part of the enemie disordred, or to give battell to the whole Armie. But while constant in this puritie of glory, hee shewed all the parts of a great Commander, a small division betweene him and the Lord *Stafford* ruin'd the whole attempt. For incamping at *Banbury* question grew concerning an Inne, to which *Stafford* pretended as having title long to the house: but in which *Pembrooke* in regard of his preheminence as Generall, and commodiousnesse of the place, was resolved to lodge. This so trivial distast (if there were no further treason in it) grew to high that *Stafford* withdrew himselfe, and his *English* Archers, leaving the *Welch* in Armes and number farre inferiour to the enemie: which defect nevertheless was supplyed by their great courage.

For when the Rebels who soone had notice of

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this unhappie discord) gave the *Earles* Campe next morning a Camisado: the *Welch* entertain'd the charge so stoutly that they tooke Sir *Henry Nevill* the Leader, but (what savor'd too much of barbarisme) most cruelly slew him in cold blood. By which Act they rais'd so feirce an appetite of revenge in the enemie, that the next day they gave the Earle battell, and the fight was long and cruell. Neither had the victory fallen so absolutely to the Northerne men, but that *John Clopton* retainer to the Earle of *Warwicke*, appearing upon the top of a neighbouring hill, with five hundred ragged and disordred men, under *Warwickes* standard, and the Northerne men at their approach crying out a *Warwicke*! a *Warwicke*! made the *Welch* beleeve all the Rebell Forces were there, and that it would be but foolish desperation to fight it out against an enemie fresh and so farre superior in number: whereupon they fled.

In the battell and the flight five thousand of the *Welch* were slaine, and among the few prisoners the Earle of *Pembrooke* and Sir *Richard Herbert* were taken: whose heads soone after were sacrific'd upon the Scaffold, to the Ghost of *Nevill*. Their valour and brave direction begetting an universall sorrow to the Kings parcie in their deaths: and even an envie in the conquering Enemie. Neither did the Lord *Stafford* the author of this overthrow escape condigne punishment: for by diligent inquiry found in *Worcestershire*, without processe at *Bridgewater* hee lost his head. Having so inconsiderately managed his businesse, that he betrayd King *Edwards* Armie, upon a false apprehension of an affront: and yet provided not thereby to winne favour so far with the enemie,

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as by their Armes to protect himselfe from the Kings just indignation.

This victory added yet a bolder courage to the attempt of *Warwicke*, but into the Northerne multitude it infused a madnesse, not to be cured by any councell or direction. For immediately some companies of them retired into *Northampton-shire*, where associating to them certaine of the most desperate inhabitants, no mischiefe was left unacted. The name they gave their Commander, (if such a disorder'd rabble could obey any) was *Robin Riddisdale*, and their first assault on *Grafton*, a seate belonging to King *Edwards* Father in Law the Earle *Rivers*. The place their wilde rage soone possest, and among the other spoyles violently taken there, were the Earle himselfe, and Sir *John Widdevill* his younger Sonne. These they presently led to *Northampton*, and there beheaded without any forme of Law: that deform'd body having no eare open to any discourse, but to that of blood and fury. An envied life and cruell death was the Summe of all those favours confer'd by Fortune on this Lord, esteem'd so happie in his owne marriage with *Jaquet*, widdow of *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and daughter to *Peter* of *Luxenburgh* Count St. *Paul*, and in his daughters with the present King. For as the assent to these strange heights are ever malign'd, so the desent is ruinous and fatall: Not any one of seven sonnes which this Lord was Father to, leaving behind him issue to perpetuate the name: some of them likewise extinguishing violently. A misery either seldome happening, or not observ'd in meaner families.

This great defeate, and these insolencies so be-

yond the sufferance of a Prince, together with the Earle of *Warwickes* openly professing himselfe head to this vaste body of Rebells, strooke an astonishment in the Kings Armie, and I will not say feare, but strange diffidence in the King himselfe. Which inclin'd him to listen to the safer though lesse noble advice of them, who perswaded him to end all dissention with the Earle by treaty. For in this so universall disease of the Kingdome, there was some sound men, both of the Clergie and Nobility yet left, whom faction did not interesse in mischiefe, and who out of experience of past miseries, were willing to prevent future. By their mediation (though the Armies by this time were so neere encampt, that they could hardly part without battell) were every houre made new overtures of peace, and on both sides not unwillingly received. The Earle of *Warwicke* (whose pretence was that of all Rebels, *The good of the Kingdome*) entertain'd these Treaties with a humility beneath his nature, and late advantages, neither appear'd stubborne to bend downe to the lowest submission, so provision might bee made for the publique benefit. Yet never in all these appatences of a calme, did he neglect to prepare himselfe against the roughest storme of warre: knowing the best way to bee reconcil'd upon safe termes to an enemie, is, not to be necessitated to peace.

But the King of a waxen nature, apt to receive any impressions best pleas'd his present humour, would not trouble his quiet to beleeve there might be fallacie in *Warwickes* pretensions. Whereupon imagining that had received perfection which was then but in agitation, hee neglected the order

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of warre, and began in his Campe to taste the pleasures of Court. Which evill discipline observ'd by the Earle, hee takes the advantage, suddenly sets on the Kings field, kills the watch, and in the dead of night at *Wolny* within foure miles of *Warwicke*, surpriseth his person, buried in a careleſſe ſleepe. So that, hee no sooner waked, but found how false his dreame had beene, which flatter'd him with peace.

This so unhappie negligence betray the King to an insulting enemie, who upbrayded his prisoner, in the most insolent termes, with ingratitude to his great merits, and boasted it was now both in his power and resolution to plaine that mountaine he had rais'd, and raise the humbled vally of King *Henries* fortunes, up to the throne he once possest. And presently sent away the King prisoner to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorke*-shire, there to be kept by his brother busie Archbishop of that Seat. Not daring to retaine him longer, least his Armie might unite, and hazzard the recovery of their Prince.

In this middle and unsafe course of managing his great fortune, questionlesse the Earle committed a maine oversight. For either by a free delivery with some conditions advantagious for himselfe and friends (and what conditions would the King then not have sign'd?) hee should have cast a perpetuall obligation upon him, or else by destroying him have secured his designe from after hazzard: knowing that no prison could hold a Prince, which would not open to corruption or battery, and no brother could have a faith so strong which

would not bee in danger, to bee weakned either by threates or promises. But perhaps this way of pollicie was onely beaten by that time, and the proud Earle tooke a glory to keepe the whole Kingdome at his devotion, and the two Competitors his Captives; for both of them his Fortune had imprison'd.

But King *Edward* grew soone weary of the restraint as whom a long practise in the liberty of pleasure had not endued with such a tamenesse as armed King *Henry*. He therefore presently casts his eye about to finde some way to redeeme his person from captivitie, and his honour from so darke an errour as by negligence to have beene surprised. And having upon pretence of necessary exercise for health, obtained licence to hunt in the adjoyning Parke, he so contrived with Sir *William Stanley* and Sir *Thomas Burgh*, that unexpected they came to his rescue with a number and resolution farre superiour to those who guarded him. With them hee escapes to *Yorke* and so to *Lancaster*, where the Lord *Hastings* Lord Chamberlaine had gathered some Forces. With this increase of followers hee march't directly to *London*, his Company growing by the way to such a body, as might not unworthily bee termed a Armie.

Into the City hee was receiv'd with accustom'd triumph, the affection of the inhabitants ever devoted to his prosperity. The occasion of which extraordinary zeale was certainely either a delight to continue him their Prince, whom their voyces first inaugurated King, or a hope by his re-establishment to recover

those waste summes of money, his necessities hitherto had borrowed in the City, or else a generall affection borne him by the Merchants wives, who having according to the unruly humors of our Nation, a command over their husbands, urged them on to side with that Prince, the beauty of whose personage, not the justice of whose cause moved them.

But the Earle of *Warwicke*, soone as he had intelligence of the escape, and the fortune which attended it, was distracted with a thousand severall imaginations. He had just reason to suspect his brother the Arch-bishops faith, as corrupted by the Kings perswasions: as likewise the weight of his owne reputation in the Kingdome, growne lighter, by so evill managing so good a fortune. He condemned the folly of his too much confidence, in having disbanded his Armie, and knew the difficulty, if not the impossibility, suddenly to reinforce it. But this was the inward part of him, outwardly he descended nothing from the height of his greatnesse and resolution. And to secure his former designe he directed his letters to all the Lords of his faction, and advised them to reassemble for the common safety.

The solicitation of those good men, who heretofore had labourd peace, continued still: and so effectually endeavord, that in fine they brought both parties to agree upon an enterview in *Westminster* Hall. There was enterchange of oathes for safety on both sides and nothing but a perfect reunion of friendship generally expected.

But no sooner was the Earle of *Warwicke* (who came accompanied by the Duke of *Clarence*)

within to expresse his desires, but hee fell into a bold expostulation of injuries. And his language swel'd to such intemperance, so far beyond the limits of that modesty becomes a subjects mouth: that the King full of indignation, departed the Hall, and immediately tooke his journey to *Conesbury*: on the other side the Earle, wilde in his anger, poasted to *Lincolne*: both making preparation for a second enterview, when the sword should both dispute and decide the controversie. Who ever perswaded these two great spirits to this meeting, err'd grosely in judgement, how zealous soever they were in their intention. For who could possibly imagine but the thunder of warre should necessarily follow that storme, which the recapitulation of injuries must beget? since expostulations, (unlesse there be some apparent mistake or that the one partie by evill fortune be bowed to to an over-low submission) may well give a growth to rancor never extirpate it. But experience all enterviws condemnes till by Commissioners (who with more patience can argue) all dissentions are reconcil'd. And most of all against any betweene a Prince and his subject: since a subject hardly containes his language from insolencie, when by the disproportionable greatnesse of his fortune he is admitted upon even tearmes to contest with his Soveraigne: and a Prince goes downe more than one step from Majestie, when he is forc'd to descend so low, as to hold parley with a Rebell.

The King understanding that the greatest part of the Earles Forces were under the conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, and that by his good discipline they were become expert Souldiers, and had done

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some service against Sir *Thomas Burgh*: sent for *Richard* Lord *Wells* his Father, that having possession of him, he might either withdraw the Sonne from *Warwicke*, or at least take off the edge from his violent proceedings. The Lord *Wells* in obedience to the Kings command with his brother in Law Sir *Thomas Dimock* addressed his journey toward the Court, but having by the way secret notice of the Kings high displeasure, and how unsafe his approach would be, secured himselfe in Sanctuary. But the King resolv'd upon any termes to get him, granted a generall pardon, and received him with promise of all faire usage. Vpon which he came forth, and onely at his approach to the Kings presence, was advised by letters to recall his sonne from rebellion, and himselfe to beare a loyall heart. These letters dispatcht with as much authority as a father could challenge, he remaind in a kinde of twilight betweene favour and ruine, till the messengers returne. Who bringing backe no answere from the Sonne in obedience to his fathers command, but rather a justification of his enterprise: so farre inceast the King, that he presently caused the Lord *Wells* and *Dimock* to be beheaded. An act barbarous and unfaithfull! For what just grounds soever the King might have to build suspition on, that *Wells* did not effectually perswade his sonne, or that inwardly he wisht better to the affaires of *Warwicke*, yet ought he not to have violated his word. And it is a most poore excuse, to say a sudden rage was guilty of this mischiefe.

The report of this execution clouded generally the reputation of the King, but ill Sir *Robert Wells* it begot nothing but fury and revenge, and indeede

deed rage so far blinded his judgement, that contrary to all perswasion and sober direction, not attending *Warwickes* comming who every day was expected, he drew out his Forces, and charged the Kings Armie. Who received him with equall courage, and (while hope of vengeance transported him too farre) inclosed him, and with three score and seaven more, tooke him prisoner. Upon the place and in the flight were slaine of the enemie ten thousand, on the Kings side onely thirteene hundred. They who escapt, to make their flight the swifter, cast away their coates, which gave to this battell the name of Loose-coate field. The prisoners immediately were executed, Sir *Robert Welle* having onely in his short delay of death the longer libertie to expresse his hatred against the King and his perfidious crueltie.

This overthrow forc'd *Warwicke* to new resolution, for his maine Forces by the precipitation of the Commander destroy'd, he foresaw that suddenly he could not recover an Armie able to give the King battell, and how open to be surprised the least interim would render him. Whereupon leisurely (for his great Spirit disdain'd any thing that resembled flight) he retired to *Exeter*, whence having dismissed the remainder of those troopes attended him, he went to *Dart-mouth*. There with many *Ladies* and a large retinue he tooke ship, and directly sayld to *Callice*. While the King no way laboured either by land or sea, to impeach their journie, either coherent with the former halfe victory (for nothing could have made it perfect, but the surprisall or destruction of *Warwick*) or holding so little intelligence even in a conquerd enemies Campe, that he knew nothing of his pre-

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sent designe: The Earle having tryed as strange a viciſſitude of fortune, as in ſo ſhort a ſpace, was ever obſerv'd in ſtory, by the benefit of a proſperous gaile ſoone was brought before *Callice*. Where being Captaine of the Towne hee expected entrance, but the Cannon was preſented him, and no Commiſſeration of the Duches of *Clarence* being in travaile, could obtaine ſo much as admittance to her preſent neceſſitie, onely the poore releefe of ſome few flaggons of wine, was ſent her. *Monſieur de Vaucleere* a Knight of *Gaſcoine* Leivetenant of the Towne, thus confidently refuſed his Captaine, profeſſing that however hee owed his preſent Command to *Warwicke* bounty, his loyaltie to the King did cancell all inferiour obligations. By which bravery of carriage he wonne ſo great eſtimation with the King and the Duke of *Burgundie* (who ever hated the factious pride of *Warwicke*, and even from the beginning of theſe troubles had labourd to continue *Vaucleere* firme in his allegiance) that from the King he received by Letters Patents the Captainſhip of *Callice* in Cheife, and from the Duke an annuall penſion of a thouſand Crownes during life. Into thus much honour and profit did diſſimulation worke him, while under hand by the ſubtilty of counſell he ſteerd the Earle of *Warwicke* to ſafety, and by falſe appearing fidelity betray'd his Prince to the aſſertain'd the Earle of his good intentions in his affaires, and however even now, but that he knew it could not but be tumultuous to both, he would declare himſelfe. For if the Earle entred the Towne hee did but impriſon his perſon, to bee detain'd till the King were pleaſed to command to forth to execution. Conſidering that the inhabitants were but

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unsure friends, and the Lord of *Duras*, the Earles profest enemie, Marshall of all the Forces in the Towne. Moreover the *Burgonians* territory encompast *Callice* by Land, and their fleete was in readinesse to blocke it up by Sea; so that no way would be open to his escape. Wherefore hee advised him for his present security and future hopes, presently to addresse himselfe to King *Lewis* of *France*, who was ever ready to entertaine any Lord of another Nation in quarrell with his Prince. But above all would welcome the Earle both in regard of the neere intelligence hee had long held with him; and the hatred he bore King *Edward* for affronting the Lady *Bona*; and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for so often confederating with the rebells of *France*.

By this councell the Earle of *Warwicke* steer'd his course to *Deepe*, by the way making prize of whatsoever appertain'd to the Duke of *Burgundy* or his subiects. And no sooner was hee landed there, but most solemnely invited to the Castle of *Amboys*, where King *Lewis* then kept his Court. The ceremony (short ever with men of businesse) past over at the first meeting; suddenly they entred into councell how to renew the warre, and restore King *Henry*. Whose re-establishment in the Kingdome *Lewis* ever most passionately urg'd, not in respect of the neere alliance, commiseration of his long sufferance, or opinion of his better title, but onely because he knew him inferiour in courage to King *Edward*, and therefore the lesse dangerous neighbour: and probably while any of the house of *Yorke* remaind, civill war likely to keepe the *English* Armes busied at home. Wherefore by his importunity Queene *Margaret* (who hitherto had

had lived an exile in *France*, and now upon the King's invitation came to Court) was perfectly reconcil'd to the Earle of *Warwicke*. *Warwicke* who before had chased her out of the Land, disinthrond her husband, and opprobriously imprison'd him, cut off the many branches, and almost pluckt up the very roote of the tree of *Lancaster*. But necessity tooke away the sting from nature, and united them in the neerest friendship. Edr that there might not be left any tract of former discontent or path to future jealousie, a marriage was concluded and celebrated betweene Prince *Edward* the Queenes sonne, and the Lady *Anne* younger Daughter to the Earle. And on this marriage was agreed that King *Edward* should be deposed, King *Henry* re-inthrond, the Crowne to be entaild upon Prince *Edward*, and for default of his issue, to come to the Duke of *Clarence* and his posterity. By which conveighance humane policie did her part to perpetuate the succession of the Kingdome in the posterity of *Warwicke*. But the Almighty made a mockery of this *Babell*, which fell soone to ruine by selfe division, and confusion, not of Languages but affections. For the Duke of *Clarence* began now to consider how by following the Earles desperate Councells, he had gain'd nothing but the conscience of an unnaturall revolt, and how ruin'd he were if the successe of this enterprise should not be prosperous; and if prosperous how upon the destruction of a brother, hee had built himselfe a lesse greatnesse, than he might have enjoy'd, without sinne or hazard. There being a vaste distance betweene the neerenesse of two sons to one mother, and onely husbands to two sisters. Neither had hee any sure

ground

ground for confidence, that when King *Henry* were restored, hereditary malice might not prevaile, and destroy him for the crime of his family. And now more than ever he found himselfe declin'd, being forc'd to submit not onely to *Warwicke*, but to a new young Prince, having before acknowledg'd no superiour but the King and him a brother. Neither was the Duchesse of *Clarence* her selfe a weake engine, on which this alteration moved. For howsoever as a daughter she might wish prosperity to the attempts of *Warwicke*, yet ever since the last agreement of reinvesting the house of *Lancaster* in the Kingdome, shee found in her minde a strange alienation from the Faction. And indeede either shee began to dislike the variety of her fathers resolutions, as whom ambition led violently to build and plucke downe: or in conscience thought the justice of the claime was wholly in King *Edward*, having in her childhood (and those impressions are ever deepest) beene instructed to affect the house of *Yorke*, and approve the title. Or (and that is the most probable in a woman) she envied perhaps the preferment of a younger sister; hating that Fortune should throw backe the priority of nature. However it was, yet certainely by her meanes King *Edward* labor'd to recall his brother, and though not suddenly yet in the end prevail'd. For having sent over a gentlewoman (her sexe tooke away suspicion from the practise) with full instructions both to advice the Duchesse not to worke the ruine or at best the lessenning of her husband by those councells held then betweene Queene *Margaret* and the Earle of *Warwicke*, as likewise to promise (if shee perswaded her husband) to him

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and her as much love and greatnesse as the tie of Nature, and so great a merit might justly challedge: He in fine got a promise that, soone as the Duke were disintangled from his present ingagements, he would declare the naturall affection he owed a brother.

This weake hope, the late victory and seeming banishment of his enemies, loosened King *Edward* to his accustomed wantonnesse and riot. For certainly never liv'd Prince whom adversitie did more harden to action; and prosperitie more soften to voluptuousnesse: So that by the judgement on his life, we may say, like a stone cast into the ayre, hee was by necessitie forst up to glory; while his center remain'd beneath in the fence of pleasure: And so improvident was his memory, that he forgot the greatest injuries, and resumed the Archbishop of *Yorke* into favour, not bearing so much as a watchfull eye over a reconcil'd enemy. By which his counsailes were betray'd and he perswaded to a false and most dangerous securitie.

But the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose recreation was businesse, and whose delight, extent of dominion; who by having long wrastled with *Lewis* the Eleventh, had learnt all the slights of warre and peace, labor'd to disperse the storme before it fell upon *England*. Whereupon hee daily advertiz'd King *Edward* of all passages in the Court of *France*, his intelligence holding good there, and who knew how neare danger came to him, should our King be overthrowne. Hee advis'd him by vast promises (which no way oblieg'd performance) to winne some; and sowing the poysonous seede of æmulation, to recall others: As likewise

wise to send over some great Lord into *France*, who pretending discontent, shall adhere to the faction, and under hand discover all their counsailes. But above all he sollicited him to rigge up and set forth his Navie whereby to prevent their landing: Affirming it to bee a most ridiculous madnesse in a King (unlesse urged by inevitable necessitie) to stake his Crowne at a battaile, against the desperation of a rebell.

The King, contrary to this sober counsaile, never endeavour'd to hinder the returne of *Warwick*, but building on the protestations of the Marquesse *Montacute*, and the Archbishop of *Yorke* securely gave himselfe over to licentiousnesse. In which interim, the Earle, with his retinue, conducted by the Bastard of *Burbon*, Admirall of *France*, sailed backe into *England*, King *Lewis* having furnisht him with a full supply of monies, and for souldiers hee needed no forraine levies: his name and faction was so great at home. For though the Countrey by civill warre was much dispeopled, yet the commonalty, being for the most borne and bred up in tumults, were naturally addicted to armes, and prone upon any innovations to take the field. Neither could the Duke of *Burgundy*, though most passionately hee labor'd it, hinder the Earles landing by giving him battaile at Sea: for the winds fought for *Warwick* and dispersst the *Burgonian* fleete (the best in that age commanded upon the Sea) casting some ships upon the coast of *Scotland*, others upon the remotest parts of *Holland*.

Neither did the King any way repent his error when hee understood the Earle was landed, but presently dispatcht a messenger to the Duke, intreating

treating him to continue his Army at Sea, to impeach *Warwicks* flight backe into *France*, as if hee were aſcertained fortune would never deny him victory. So ſecure was he growne by an overbold preſumption, the baſtard daughter of a long proſperitie. But they whom experience had inſtructed to more caution, pittied his miſtake and foreſaw the ruine. And he himſelfe not long after underſtanding how mightily the Earle increaſt in power, began to thinke his ſafetie brought into hazard. Which he much more beleeved when he found the Nobilitie, whom he ſummon'd to his aide, to excuſe themſelves, and the common ſtreame of people to ebbe wholly from his devotion.

And indeed, even in the Citie the adverſe faction was growne ſo ſtrong, that Doctor *Jooddard*, Chaplaine to the Earle, at *Pauls* Croſſe in his Sermon dared even to act the Herald, and conclude *Edward* an uſurper. And thereupon to commend the moſt religious intentions of the Earle, and to exhort the Audience to joyne with him in reſtoring their impriſon'd Soveraigne King *Henry* to his Scepter, and the Common wealth to libertie.

The credulous multitude tooke this hereſie for true doctrine, and with ſome of the zealous ignorant, it ſo farre prevailed, that in pure devotion they committed high treaſon. But would to God the Pulpit might onely ſpeake things ſacred; matters of State having roome enough to bee diſcuſt in Councell Chambers, and other places erected for publike aſſemblies. For certainly how erronious ſoever the tenet bee, if utter'd there by a Prieſt with apparence of Religion, it gets two

much authority in the eare, and too much ground upon the conſcience: As this opinion did, which no ſooner received, but all began to incline to revolt: and with the firſt retired away the late reconcild Archbiſhop and the Matqueſſe *Montacute* his brother, both having ſo often, and ſo ceremoniouſly vowed never to forſake the title of King *Edward*; and both now perfidiouſly breaking thoſe vowes, and with the lowdeſt crying out, Long live King *Henry*.

The trechery of *Mountacute*, who having raiſd in King *Edwards* name ſix thouſand men turnd now with them to *Warwicke*, and the generall defection of the Land threw the King downe into extreame deſpaire. For thoſe few Lords who conſtantly adheard to his declining fortune, commanded over ſo ſmall a number, that to reſolve upon a battaile were to betray themſelves to ſlaughter: And when misfortune drove their thoughts upon ſafetie by flight, they knew not whether to reſolve: No Land being willing to receive that Prince, who is forc'd to flie his owne. But while his imaginations remaind thus confuſed, he had hardly eſcapt a ſurprize in the night, had not his former misfortune ſerved him now for inſtruction. And finding his ſtay onely begot diſreputation to his quarrell, and danger to his perſon, he began his flight towards *Lincolneſhire*. But the Earle ſent after him his Light Horſe, following with the whole body of his Army; and ſo cloſe did the Light Horſe purſue him, that with much difficultie, and with loſſe of all his carriages in his paſſage thorough the Waſhes hee reacht *Linne*.

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The Lord *Hastings*, faithfull to the King in all fortunes, and who had yet three thousand more under his command, stayd some short time behind: and now when he imagined the King past the reach of imminent danger, he dismist his Forces and followed after. At parting he commended the faith of the Souldiers to their Prince, which nevertheless for the present hee advised them to dissemble. No present securitie, nor hope of doing after service, but by submission to the prevailing faction. Ere long he promis'd to returne, when a better fortune would invite them to show the loyaltie of their affections; the violence of the storme being too mightie to continue, and King *Edward* in faction at home and abroad too potent, so easily to quit a kingdome; however for the present he withdrew himselfe a while.

Having exhorted thus his Souldiers, he obeyed necessity, and by speedy flight went after the King. Who having hired three shippes, one of *England* and two of *Holland*, presently imbarked, having in his company the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earle *Rivers*, the Lords *Scales* and *Say*, and in retinue about one thousand. As soone as they were put to Sea, the King encounterd dangers great as he had escapt at Land. For the Easterlings (a people ever famed for Sea affaires and then at enmitie both with *France* and *England*) had set forth not long before some men of warre: Who having descried these shippes and guessing them to be *English*, made saile after them. The King by benefit of the wind got first to the coast of *Holland*, and in regard it was ebbing water cast Anchor so neare the shore, the Easterlings (being shippes of

farre greater burthen could not reach them. But the next tide infallibly had exposed them a prize to the enemy, had not the Lord *Grantmere*, Lieutenant for the Duke in *Holland* by meere accident beene at that time at *Aquenare*, a Sea towne close joyning to them. He, soone as he understood that these three small vessels carried in them the fortune of *England*, commanded the Easterlings to forbeare hostility, and licence those passengers a quiet landing. And presently himselfe came aboord the Kings shippe, expressing in the obsequiousnesse of his respects as much ceremony and love, as was due to so great a Majestie, and the brother in law to his Prince. And no sooner had he attended the King ashore, and found how unprovided of all things necessary, the suddennesse of his flight had made him and his followers; but he furnisht him and them according to their quality and want. For the Kings escape was so hasty that not onely his apparell and other furniture were lost or left behind, but even his treasure: So that to defray the charge of his transportation he was necessitated to give the Master of the ship a Gowne furr'd with Martins: And remaine beholding to the Lord *Grantmere* for his expences to the *Hage*, whether hee was conducted to expect the comming of the Duke. Who soone as he had perfect knowledge of the Kings so ruinous successe in *England*, and arrived in *Holland* as to a Sanctuary, began to repent his so neare alliance, and cast about how to close with the adverse faction. And now indeede his time was to act the most cunning part of subtletie, by endeavouring to retaine the good opinion of his brother in Law, and yet secure himselfe from hostilitie with the

Earle of *Warwicke*. Whereupon before ever hee came to the Hague he dispatcht his Agent to *Callice*, to shew the chiefe of the towne, that the peace heretofore concluded betweene King *Edward* and himselfe, was no way personall: But betweene whatsoever Princes should rule in either dominions, and betwixt nation and nation: and therefore by no change of King or length of time dissolvable. Upon which consideration hee intreated (for both he was at the same time, to wrastle both with *France* and *England*) that the name of *Edward* might bee changed into *Henry*, and the former league continue sacred as before.

The unsetled state of *England* and the universall desires of the Merchants of the Staple at *Callice* soone affected the Dukes purpose. For they who had continuall traffique into the Low Countries, and vented all their woolls to the subjects of the Duke, had beene unabled to pay their usuall tribute to the King, if free intercourse had beene denyed. Whereupon unwilling to discontent and impoverish so great a body at home, and too hastily to run into a dangerous quarrell with a most potent enemy abroad, the Earle for the present dissembled his invetcrate hatred, and recal'd his Souldiers who had spoyld all the Dukes territory bordering upon *Callice*. And that the Duke might make himselfe strong in a faction potent with the present time, hee renewed his friendship with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exceter*; whom hee solicited earnestly to endeare him to King *Henry*, and revive in him the memory of their so neare kindred. To acquaint him how zealous himselfe and his father had ever beene for the honour and safetie of the family of *Lancaster*, in

which

which himselfe did so much participate. As likewise to promise all the perfect offices of a consederate and neighbour, if so bee that his faithfull intentions might receive a true interpretation.

This did the Dukes voluntarily offer to negotiate, *Summerset* in respect of propinquity in blood, *Excoeter* of those many favours received in the Low Countries during his so miserable exile. Both out of an extreame malice to the Earle of *Warwicke*, who had subverted their families, and to whose ayde, they envied the King should owe his restitution. And easily was the Duke brought upon good termes with King *Henry*; his neighberhood and friendship being of so notable consequence, and the very apparence of disclaiming the adverse partie (what secret ayde soever hee afforded) being so disadvantageous to any pretence King *Edward* might have to renew the warre.

This aspect, full of a failing flattery, did the Duke of *Burgundy* beare to the present fortune of the state. While upon King *Edward* he cast such a supercilious look, as the worlds wise men usually doe upon men in adversitie. Often sharpely hee reprehended his so great carelesnesse, and neglect of wholesome advice, which had ruin'd him to this so wretched flight. Hee objected the much contempt this misfortune would throw upon his quarrell, and how loath friends would bee to adhere to his present necessities, since hee knew so ill to manage prosperitie. Yet remembring that hereafter there might happily be a change in fortune, he often chang'd his humour, and amid these reprehensions mingled some passionate complements of love. Hee protested seriously that hee

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wiſht all happineſſe to his affaires, to advance which he would neglect no induſtry: yet he deſired his pardon if for the preſent hee diſſembled. Conſidering it might at once draw on a warre from his two moſt dangerous neighbours, *England* and *France*: Againſt both which nations ſhould he be neceſſitated to a quarrell, hee ſhould be very unable to defend himſelfe, much leſſe to ſerve another. And when a Proclamation was ſet forth by the Duke prohibiting his ſubjects any way to ayde the pretences of King *Edward* or his faction, and that it was with much indignation received by the King: he proteſted the intention of it to be onely to betray King *Henry* to an unſafe ſecurity, that in the interim he might without ſuſpition levie a greater ayde for his deſignes. King *Edward* (whom a ſhort adverſitie had alreadie inſtructed much) appeard to take the falſe coine of theſe excuſes for currant, and by example of the Duke practis'd to diſſemble. But after this time it was noted that he never bore the Duke ſo ſincere affection as before. Princes beſt maintaining a nere friendſhip, by keeping at large diſtance: jealouſie and æmulation take their growth with familiaritie; and if eyther be neceſſitated to demand ſupply, reaſon of ſtate oftentimes weakens love, and roots up good nature

To increaſe King *Edwards* diſcontent abroad, no newes came from *England* but what ſpoke abſolute ruine to his hopes. For though here hee heard firſt the comfort of his being father to a ſonne, yet was this ſonne borne poorely in Sanctuary, and chriſtned without the ceremonies belonging to a Prince, and if fortune beyond expectation alterd not, heire apparent onely to his fathers

fathers miſery. Neither did that wild inſurrection of the men of *Kent*, which enſued preſently upon his flight effect any thing, or ſo much as openly pretend for King *Edward*. But ſome diſorder'd companies gathering into one, hoped to fiſh faire in the troubled ſtreame of the Kingdome, and by the advantage of the preſent diſtraction of ſtate to purchaſe treaſure to themſelves. Whereupon they directed their march (if ſuch ſtraglers can bee ſaid to march) towards *London*; where by the Earle of *Warwick* and the Lord Major they were ſoone ſuppreſt, and ſome for the generall terror, made examples in their puniſhment. But after this all things tended preſently to quiet, and King *Henry* ſet at libertie went in ſolemne proceſſion to *Pauls* Church, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty reacknowledging all obedience to him. And, as if there were left no memory of King *Edward* or hope to reeſtabliſh his title, every man addreſt himſelfe to King *Henry*, and all his former ſervants recover'd their loſt honours and places. But that this might not appeare to be the act of faction, but the univerſall conſent of the Kingdome, a Parliament was ſummond: wherein nothing was denied, which the prevailing partie thought fit to be authoriz'd.

King *Edward* therefore and all his adherents were attainted of high treaſon, their lands and goods confiſcated. He and his poſterity for ever diſabled to inherit not onely the Crowne, but any other hereditary eſtate; His claime to the kingdome rejected as a moſt unjuſt pretention, and his former government condemn'd as a tirannous uſurper. And that there might be a great example

example of their justice, *John Tiptoft* Earle of *Worcester*, Lord high Constable of *England* (having beene apprehended in the Forrest of *Waibrige* on the top of a high tree, which exprest the precipice of his fortune) was on the *Towerhill* beheaded.

Next they proceeded to intaile the Crowne upon King *Henry* and his heires males, for default of which to *George* Duke of *Clarence* and his heires for ever. By which intaile the Earle of *Warwicke* showed not onely the extent but the insolency of his greatnesse, as if the title of the kingdome appertained to them who were nearest in alliance to him, not next in blood to the Crowne. For if the justice of *Lancasters* claime had the preheminence for want of issue of King *Henry*, why should not the soverainty fall to the Duke of *Sommerset*? Or if that line were crooked in respect of bastardie, why not to the house of *Portugall*, without any blemish descending from *John* of *Gaunt*? Or if the house of *Yorke* had the better title, why was *George* Duke of *Clarence* then set downe but second in the intaile? Or if the right were in *Warwick* himselfe (for his power order'd and disorder'd all) why was the kingdome to descend first of all to the younger daughter? But preposterous ambition never knew how to give an account to reason.

Then were the Earles of *Oxford*, *Pembrooke*, and many others restored to their estates and titles, and the Duke of *Clarence* (that greater hopes might not invite him to returne to his brother) possest of the Dutchy of *Yorke*.

And lastly, the government of the King and kingdome committed to the Duke of *Clarence* and the

the Earle of *Warwick*: for that King *Henry* (in whose best of fortune it was never to passesse more then the name of King) seem'd not to be at liberty, but onely to have changed his keeper, and got his prison somewhat more enlarged. But Queene *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, though by the Earle recall'd, found their fate and the winds so adverse, that they could not land in *England*, to taste this running banquet to which fortune had invited them. And stayd so long by necessity, that discretion instructed them, in the end there was no hope of felicitie, scarce of safetie in their returne.

The re-establishment of King *Henry* in the kingdome by the universall acclamation of the Parliament, and the generall silence of the other faction, no man so much as mentioning the title of *Yorke*, cooled that fervour of respect with which the Duke of *Burgundy* had at first imbraced King *Edward*. Especially when the treason of Mounsieur *Vaucleere* was apparent: for of *Sallice* both the King and the Duke ever thought themselves secure, he having declared himselfe so faithfully, they rewarded him so liberally. But now the traytor turn'd his inside outward, and with the loudest proclaym'd his joy for the prosperitie of *Warwicke*: And so farre did vanitie of his former services betray him, that he boasted even his treason for merit. And what ever messages the King sent to him, he rejected with scorne: to whose more notable affront, hee wore enamel'd in his hat the Beare and ragged staffe, the Earles cognizance.

The neglect which accompanied his adversitie made the King weary of any further dependances,

and

and urge the Duke to have licence for departing. For although the Dutcheſſe neglected no duty of a ſiſter, and wooed him moſt paſſionately to a longer ſtay; yet ſo little had his fortune inſtructed him to patience, that neither love nor fright of danger could detaine him longer. For the Duke was diſtemperd with ſuch an ague of diſcurteſie, that thoſe fits which before came but every third or fourth day, became now quotidian; neither knew the King to how high and dangerous a malice the diſeaſe in time might riſe. His importunitie therefore in the end prevail'd, and underhand obtain'd a large ſupply of money, and ſome men. Foure great Shippes of *Holland*, and foureteene of the *Eaſterlings* men of warre well arm'd, he hired for the tranſportation of his Forces: Which conſiſted of the *Engliſh* who accompanied him in his flight and had cleaped over after him, and two thouſand *Dutch* men. With the Shippes hee covenanted, that they ſhould ſerve him till fifteene dayes after his landing, and to the *Dutch* Souldiers hee gave ſuch large promiſes, that they vowed their lives to the greateſt cruelty of his Fortune.

At *Ravenſpur* in *Yorke*ſhire he landed, where the people naturally devoted to the houſe of *Lancaſter* (ſhowed in the malice of their lookes, what evill lucke they wiſht him) though they wanted coutage with their armes to oppoſe him.

Which ſo diſmall aſpect made him more wary in his march to *Yorke*, fearing it might preſage the generall riſing of the Countrey. But when hee came thither and found the Citizens ſo well pleas'd with the preſent ſtate, and ſo in their opinion confirm'd for King *Henry*, hee began to deſpaire

ſpaire the recovery of the Crowne. And in that reſolution perceiving them obſtinate beyond any hope of remove, faſhion'd his behaviour to a new art. Whereupon ſince he could not move them to obedience by the authority of his unqueſtion'd right to the Crowne, by relation of his preſent calamitie, he perſwaded them to compaſſion. So that whom they refuſed to ſerve as King, which had been an act of loyalty, they condeſcended to aide as Duke of *Yorke*, which was abſolute rebellion. It being high treaſon in a Subject, though never ſo apparently injured, to ſeeke his remedy by armes. And by the ſence of his owne misfortunes, he made his Oratory ſo powerfull, that all began to exclaime against the injuſtice of the laſt Parlament in conferring the Dutchy of *Yorke*, which by right of primogeniture belong'd to *Edward*, upon his ſecond Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*. Which Act could not be imagined, freely granted by the Parliment, but extorted by the overgreat sway of *Warwicke*: And had *Edward* by uſurpation of the Crowne, deſerv'd ſo heavy an attainder; He might yet quit himſelfe from the crime, having beene incenced thereunto not by his owne ambitious deſire of raigne, but by the inſtigation of *Warwicke*. Who no longer would ſuffer the government of his King, then the King knew how to obey his inſolent direction. And who had thus planted and ſupplanted Princes, not out of love to Juſtice, but onely thereby to tranſplant the Soveraignety into his owne Family.

Thus the Commonalty argued for *Edward*, and made him yet partake in the fortune of a Prince, by not permitting him to beare the burthen of his

own faults: and that he might recover the Dutchy belonging to his family many persons of power and name resorted to him, he solemnely sweaning never to attempt hereafter the recobtaining of the kingdome. The same oath swore *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* when pretending to the Dutchy of *Lancaster* he landed in the North & arm'd against King *Richard*, which he brok as *Edward* after did upon the like advantage. So that with humilitie we ought to wonder at the judgements of the Almightie, who permitted perjurie now to unbuild the greatnesse of *Lancaster*, which at first was built by perjury.

Leaving therefore a Garrison in *Yorke* (a safe retreat upon the worst occasion) hee marcht toward *London*: about which place he had ever found his fortune most benigne. And confidently led on his Forces (which could not deserve the name of Army) although the Marquesse *Montague* with a farre superior power lay then at *Pomfret* to impeach his journey. Nigh which when King *Edward* came expecting battaile, *Montague* who had both abilitie and opportunitie to have destroyd him, let him quietly passe, not permitting any act of hostilitie to be shewed, or advantage taken.

This grosse oversight in so absolute a command received severall interpretations, according to the complexion of the men discourst in. The more religious who favord King *Edwards* title thought Almighty God, intending to set the Crowne upon the right head, had infatuated the counsells of his enemies: The more vulgar judged it cowardize in the Marquesse which durst not fight against that Majestie for which hee had so often

fought, and against a Prince who had never been in battaile but victorious: But the more indifferent censure held it a peece of over cunning (which in the event is ever folly) to let his forces passe, whereby after hee might inclose him betweene his and his brothers army, and so without hazard destroy him, or else some intelligence which secretly hee held with King *Edward* to whose love and benefits he owed so much. Whence this mistake proceeded, I will not dispute, but certainly it served well to the Kings purpose and safetie, and received from the Earle of *Warwick* and his faction no other name then of falshood and treason.

King *Edward* was no sooner past this danger but many of the Nobility with mighty Forces repaired to him either desirous of another resolution of state, not having found their expectation answered in the last, Or directed by their better Angel to adhere to that side which ever was most just and suddenly, more likely to be more fortunate. But before they would solemnely declare themselves, they increased and soone prevail'd with him to cast off the poore intention to a Dutchy, and lay his challenge to, what was his inheritance, the kingdome. For it would lessen, even to contempt, the great reputation of his birth and former victories, to let the people perceive that a short eclipse of fortune had made him fall so low, as to depose himself from the Royalty. Neither could they justifie their taking armes to settle a subject in his inheritance. Since the Law is open to end such controversies, and if he would subject himself to the Law, the last Parliament had for ever disabled him from any such claime.

Weaker arguments would have beene of power enough to have perswaded his great Spirit: but by these he was confirm'd in his owne thoughts; and with the title of King, and a full Army marcht directly to *Coventry*, fierce in his desire to give *Warwicke* battaile, who lay there encampt. But no provocation could bring him from his trenches, knowing his Army divided, and those forces he had there under his command, unequall to maintaine fight with the King. For the Marquesse *Mountague* was not yet return'd from the North: and the Duke of *Clarence*, though often and earnestly sollicited excused himselfe, and kept his power apart. So reservd way in them, made *Warwicke* begin to hold both in suspition; but most of all *Clarence*, whose Forces were so neare and in so good order, that there could bee no excuse but in the unpreparednesse of his mind.

The King therefore perceiving no thing could force *Warwicke* upon uneven termes to fight, marcht against *Clarence*, and soone as hee drew neare, both Armies prepared for the incounter. But as a plot in a well contrived Comedy is so cunningly wrought that it discovers not it selfe till the last Scene, and then expectation acknowledged her selfe deluded by invention. So this reconciliation betweene the brothers agreed on long before, on the sudden now broke forth when all outward apparences threatned hostilitie. For the Duke of *Glocester* and other Lords seeming to abhorre the inhumane nature of the prepared battaile, past often formally betweene the brothers, and urged them by all respects both religious and polliticke to prevent a quarrell so ruinous and so scandalous to both: wherein the triumph could

not he but almost destruction to the Conqueror. After much mediation and much seeming reflection, that was in the end concluded, which had long before beene resolved on. And the Duke of *Clarence* submitting himselfe to King *Edward*, brought with him all those forces which upon *Warwicks* reputation, much more then upon his owne, he had raisd. But that in this agreement he might not appeare to forget the office of a sonne in Law and a friend, he joyntly with the King sent to intreat the Earle to enter league with them, for confirmation of that title which himselfe had first defended; and to avoid the effusion of so much blood as this quarrell must necessarily draw. For conditions he himselfe should set downe his owne; knowing hee would be so rationall in his demands, as to require nothing above the decorum of a subject to aske, or a Prince to grant.

But *Warwicke* had a spirit too stubborne to bow downe to any conditions, which himselfe had not beene the first proposer of: and as an injury threw backe all offers of curtesie. And now too late he began to curse the error of his indulgency, which had added power to these brothers onely for his owne destruction. From *Edward* he could expect no safetie, for hee deserv'd it not, having canceld all former obligations by his last revolt, by which he forc'd him to so hazardous a flight, and from *George* he could not look for a true faith, considering for the only apparence of better hopes he had heretofore broke it even with a brother. And from both what thought of perfect friendship, unlesse (and that his nature could never suffer) he would fall beneath his former height, in which

should hee continue, ſuſpition would never let him remaine ſecured from danger. That ſubject ſcarſe never having beene reputed innocent, in whoſe power it was not be nocent.

Whereupon King *Edward*, by all the charmes of former friendſhip and promiſe of future, unable to lay the ſpirit that raged in *Warwicke*, left him obſtinate in the proſecution of his owne deſignes: And accompanied with his late reconcild brother and followed by a gallant Army marcht to *London*. Where the Citizens out of conſcience of their late oath taken ſo ſolemnly to King *Henry*, made ſome ſhow of reſiſtance; but ſoone the care of their owne ſafetie abſolvd them from that ſcruple, inſtructing them that oaths by feare retorted lay no obligation upon the ſoule. And with much alacritie they yeelded up their City together with the perſon of King *Henry*, reſerv'd ſtill to be made the ſport of fortune. For certainly hiſtory ſhowes us not an example of any Prince, who in ſo many viciſſitudes, never met with one fully to his advantage. So that juſtly wee might have condemnd him for unhappy, had he not beene endued with ſuch a piety as raiſd him above his fortune, and united him to God.

At his entrance into the Citie as generall applauſe entertaind King *Edward*, all thoſe inhabitants who had covertly wiſht happy ſucceſſe to his affaires, now openly expreſſing their triumph. The Queene and thoſe many of the Kings neareſt followers, who for the ſpace of ſix moneths had ſecured themſelves in Sanctuary, running forth to congratulate their owne, in his reſtitution. And even in this generall alacritie concurd the vowes of many Merchants, natives and forrainers, who

before

before had hated him and supplyed King *Henry* with money to his destruction. For the King out of the easinesse of his naturall disposition, and a desire that at this universall triumph there should not be a sad looke so much as among his enemies, gave their offences a generall pardon: Onely letting them understand that hee knew both the value of his owne mercy and of the greatnesse of their forfeitures, their ayding the contrary faction having lost them their estates and liberties, and in rigor their lives. Neither was this an unhappy pollicy in him, to oblige many by the forgiving that, the extremity of which had he taken (his businesse being then so unsettled) might have endangered a mutiny in the City, upon the first approach of the enemy.

Having therefore by his happy fortune comforted his friends and by his clemency wonne upon the affection of the rest, and so setled the Town to his obedience, that he suspected no danger at his backe: he led forth his Army to oppose the Earle of *Warwicke*, who having reunited his scatterd forces by easie marches was come to Saint *Alban*. The reason of bringing his power so neare *London* was a confidence hee had, his reputation among the inhabitants would draw many to his part, or at least so divide them that they should be no advantage to the King. But the King jealous of their levitie, as who had knowne them (how affectionate soever they profitted themselves to his fortune) siding still with the prevailer, interposed his Army betweene the Citie and the enemy: whereby he cut off even the possibilitie of intelligence. And that the presence of King *Henry* might not be the occasion of any tumult in *London*, nor

his

his escape adde authoritie to *Warwicks* quarrell, or hereafter endanger a further warre, hee tooke him to the battaile: Whereby the poore distrest King, what side so ere prevailed, was totally certaine of destruction.

Vpon a Plaine neare *Barnet* mid-way betweene *London* and Saint *Alban* the King pitcht his field. The Vaward commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*, the Rere by the Lord *Hastings*, the maine battaile by himselfe. To the common Souldier needed no incouragement of words, the great examples of their Leaders was the best Oratory. And none of them but understood their lives, estates, and liberties, at the stake: Their Prince if overthrowne, every day not unlike to produce new troubles, and new dangers; if victorious, a full conclusion of the warre, with wealth and triumph.

On the other side the Earle of *Warwicke* with as bold a resolution prepared his Forces. The right Wing which consisted of Horse, he committed to the Earle of *Oxford*, in whose company fought the Marquesse *Montague*. The left to the Duke of *Exeter*, and the maine battaile which was composed of Bills and Bowes (the best sinnes of our *English* strength) to the Duke of *Somerset*: Hee himselfe giving direction in every quarter. And when hee had surveid his whole hoste, and liked both their order and their courage, hee sent away his Horse, resolving to fight on foote, and that day to try the utmost of his fortune, preferring to his imaginations no meane betweene victory and death. Then he lovingly imbraced all those great Commanders, in every of whom appeared a resolution equall to the cause: And having by many protestations de-

clared

clared their sincere faith and forwardnesse to the present service, every man betooke himselfe to his severall charge. Nothing extraordinary to bee observed in ordering the field on either side, but that neither *George* Duke of *Clarence*, nor the Marquesse *Mountague* commanded any way in chiefe that day: So impossible it was to extirpate that suspition, which by their former actions had taken roote in their brothers minds.

It was *Easter* day in the morning (a day too sacred to be profaned with so much blood) when both Armies addrest themselves to fight. That for the King tooke courage from the justice of their quarrell, and the fortune of their Prince. That of the Earle from the long experience and noble valour of their Leader, and from the pietie of him for whose redemption that day they had brought their lives to the hazard. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having beene crown'd, and by severall Parliaments acknowledged. And indeede the question was so subtill, that even among Divines it had held long, and at that day remained not absolutely decided. No marvell then if the common souldier had on both sides the same assurance of truth, since if they have any, their faith for the most is led by the direction of their Generall. Both Armies therefore had equall justice, which made them with equall fiercenesse begin and continue the fight.

Sixhoures the victory was doubtfull, advantages and disadvantages indifferent on both sides: till at length errour brought disorder to *Warwicks* Army, and that a finall overthrow. For the Earle of *Oxford* giving his men a star with streames for his device begot in the Army a mistake that

they

they were part of the enemy whose badge was the Sunne: and which miſtake might eaſily happen by the thicke miſt that morning; wherefore being in the right wing, and preſſing forward they were thought King *Edwards* men flying, which made their owne maine battaile fall fiercely on them in the backe. Whereupon *Oxford* ſuſpecting treaſon in *Warwicke* (whoſe haughtie and reſerved wayes were ever lyable to ſuſpition) fled away with eight hundred men, and King *Edward* with certaine freſh troopes of Rutters for ſome ſuch purpoſe reſerv'd, perceiving diſorder in the enemy violently aſſaulted them, and ſoone forc'd them to ſhrinke backe. *Warwicke* oppoſed againſt their feare both with language and example; but when nothing could prevaile, hee ruſht into the thickeſt of the enemies; hoping either his whole Army would bravely follow, or otherwiſe by death to prevent the miſery of ſeeing himſelfe overthrowne. *Mountague* perceiving how farre into danger his brother was engaged, ran violently after to his reſcue, and both preſently oppreſt with number fell, and with them the ſpirit of the Army. In their deaths they both cleard thoſe calumnies with which they were blemiſht. *Warwicke* of having ſtill a ſwift horſe in readines by flight to eſcape from any apparent danger in battaile. *Mountague* of holding intelligence with King *Edward*, or betraying at *Pomfret* the quarrell of his great brother. For it is to be rejected as a fable forged by malice, that hiſtory which reports the Marqueſſe having put on King *Edwards* livery, ſlaine by one of *Warwicks* men, and the Earle labouring to eſcape, at a Woods ſide where was no paſſage, kild and ſpoild to the naked skin by two of King

Edwards souldiers. Yet both of them in their deaths partaking with the common condition of men; the poore being ever esteemed as vicious, the overthrowne as cowards. By which judgement wee impiously subject the Almighty disposer of humane bussinesse to our depraved affections, as if felicity or infelicity were the touchstone by which we might discerne the true value of the inward man.

King *Edward* soone as he saw the discomfiture of the enemy and certainly understood the death of the two brothers: that himselfe might bee the first reporter of his owne fortune, with King *Henry* in his company poasted up to *London*. He came into Saint *Pauls* Church at even Song, and there offered up his owne banner, and the standard of the Earle of *Warwicke*, the trophies of his morning service: where waited on him an universall acclamation, the flattering shadow which never forsakes victory.

To the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Glocester* was left the care to quarter the Souldiers: whose enquiry soone found that on both sides that day were slaine foure thousand six hundred and odde. On the Kings side of eminency onely the Lords *Butcher* and *Barnet*, hee sonne and heire to the Earle of *Essex*, this to the Lord *Say*: On the other side were kild the Earle of *Warwicke* and the Marquesse *Mountague* attended with three and twenty Knights. The Duke of *Exeter*, who by his many wounds was reported dead, recoverd life: but was never more seene in action, his body after some length of time being cast upon the shore of *Kent*, as if he had perisht by shipwracke: the manner of his after life and death left uncertaine in story.

To

To this violent end came the Earle of *Warwick*, the greatest and busiest subject our later age hath brought forth. And indeed how was it possible such a stormie life, could expect a calmer death? In his spirit, birth, marriage, and revenue he was mighty: which raised his thoughts above proportion. For all these benefits of nature and fortune served him onely as instruments to execute his rage, into which every small displeasure taken or mistaken from his Prince, threw him head-long. His bounty extended it selfe most in hospitality, which was dangerous to the guest, for his meate was infected with the poyson of Faction. The open ayme of all his actions was at the Publicke good, which made his power still recover strength, though so often weakened by evill Fortune: but his secret intention was to advance his owne greatnesse, which he resolv'd to purchase though with sale of the publicke safety. He was questionlesse valiant, for a coward durst not have thought those dangers, into which he entred upon the slightest quarrels. His soule was never quiet, distasted still with the present: and his pride like a foolish builder, so delighted to pull downe and set up, that at length part of the frame himselfe had raised, fell upon him and crusht him to death. He was a passionate extoller of continencie in a Prince, which proceeded rather from spleene than zeale: because in that he tacitely made the King contemptible for his voluptuous life. Being bred up from a child in Armes (the worst schoole to learne Religion in) hee had certainely no tender sence of justice: and his varying so in approving contrary titles, shewed either a strange levity in judgement, or else that ambition not

conſcience ruled his actions. The pretences of his revolt from King *Edward*, were neither to the world politicke nor to himſelfe honeſt. For what greater hopes could he conceive by reſtoring a family himſelfe had ruind? ſince injuries make ſo deepe an impreſſion, that no after curteſie can take it away? Or how could any violence offer'd to his Daughters honour by the King (for that was then by him pretended) licence him to war? ſince no injuſtice in a Soveraigne can authorize the ſubject to Rebellion. But who will give a true account of his latter attempts, muſt looke backe upon his firſt familiarity with *Lewis* the eleventh. For never had *France* ſuch a Merchant to vent diſcord in forraigne Kingdomes, and buy up the faith of all the greateſt Officers to neighboring Princes. But when by the moſt powerfull engins of pollicie and warre, he had ſcrewed up his intentions to the higheſt, by making himſelfe King in Authority though not in title, the Crown being entailed upon the two Princes, who had married his Daughters: Almighty God in one overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sonnes in Law, with their wives not long after to end by ſtrange deathes, none of them anſwering his hope, but the younger Daughter and that prepoſterouſly to his deſigne. For ſhe indeede by marrying *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the butcher of her husband Prince *Edward*, became Queene to an Vſurper, and ſoone after by poyſon (as it was juſtly ſuſpected) made reſignation of her Crown. His Grand-children by *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any age, dyed by the Axe upon a Scaffold; and all that greatneſſe he ſo violently labor'd to confirme in his poſterity, by violent deathes was reduced

to nothing: The large River of his blood divided now into many ſtreames, ſome ſo ſmall, they are hardly obſerv'd as they flow by.

Of his brother the Marqueſſe *Mountague* little can be cleerely ſpoken: ſo reſerv'd were his imaginations and ſo obſcure his wayes: eſpecially to us who looke on him ſo farre off, and with ſo imperfect a light. Neither of himſelfe can he afford much to ſtory, having never beene but ſecond in any buſineſſe of moment: and like ſome poore gamſter ſeldome or never play'd his own Cards. He had certainely as much valour and diſſimulation, as rendred him both a perfect Souldier and Courtier. He never miſcarried in any battaile, till the laſt, in which he periſht: ſo that indifferently we may aſcribe to his good conduct and fortune, the proſperity of his ſucceſſe. His affections being divided betweene a King and a brother, made him ſuffer that misfortune that ever attends neutrality: Though indeede he may be rather ſayd to have beene for both, than neither. His nature was nothing ſo ſtubborne as his brothers, which perhaps was bended to plauſibility, by the dependances of his fortune. The comportment of men ſeldome ſwelling to a diſtaſtfull pride, unleſſe from the very cradle flattered with reſpect, without the competition of an equall. He abhord peace, whoſe ſtrict rules circumſcrib'd him within the narrow limits of his owne revenue: and loved warre which called not his expences to accoumpt, and equall'd, if not elevated him above thoſe great men, whom he muſt have envied in a quiet ſtate. In a word, the diſpoſitions of theſe two Brothers are beſt diſcovered to us by the King himſelfe: of whom *Warwicke* was ſtill either eſteemed or hated,

Mountague loved, or pitied.

The affection which King *Edward* bore *Mountague*, during life, appeared by the good language he alwaies used of him, even when in Armes against him, which perhaps occasion'd some jealousie of his faith in *Warwicke*. And after death in permitting his and for his sake, his brothers bodie the honour of a convenient buriall. For after they had both laine two or three dayes bare-faced in St. *Pauls* Church, exposed a spectacle obnoctious to such passions, as the beholders were inclined to either by Nature or Faction: they were carryed downe to the Priory of *Bisham*: Where among their Ancestors by the mothers side Earles of *Salisbury*, the two unquiet brothers rest in one Tombe.

Queen *Margaret* now when it was too late Landed at *Weimouth*, having in her retinue some few *French* Forces, the warie King *Lewis* loath to venture much upon an after game of fortune. And here when she expected the acclamations of triumph, she first received the newes of *Warwicke* slaine and his Armie defeated. Which to her mind, prepared then to have some taste of happinesse, was so sad a distraction, that she knew not which way to direct her resolutions. At length desperation forc'd her to the common poore refuge of Sanctuary. And in *Bewlye* in *Hampshire*, a monastery of *Cistercian* Monkes she registred her selfe, her sonne, and followers for persons priviledg'd. To her in this agonie of soule came *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset* (who had escap'd from the overthrow at *Barnet*) with his brother the Lord *John Bewfort*, *John Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire* (brother to *Thomas* who taken at *Towton* field was beheaded at

Yorke) *Iasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, younger ſonne of *Owen Teuther* by Queene *Katherine* Dowager, *Iohn Longſtrother* Lord *Prior* of S^t. *Iohns*, and *Iohn* Lord *Wenlocke* who had received his firſt advancement to honour by his great Services to King *Edward*, and now by the folly of his ingratitude, had betray'd himſelfe to a ruinous Faction.

Theſe Noble perſonages greater farre in the reputation of what they had, or might have beene, than in their preſent power, labour'd what they could by their comfort and preſence to raiſe up the Queene, ſunck with the weight of her misfortunes. They related to her the hopes ſhee yet might retaine in the amitie with *France*, and authoritie ſhe had in *England*: multitudes yet ſurviving, vvhom if not affection to the title, deſperation of their owne fortunes, and ſafety of their perſons, would neceſſitate to take armes. All overthrowes rather ſowing, then taking away the ſeeds of warre. Neither if ſhe lookt indifferently upon the laſt battle, had ſhe reaſon to be diſconſolate. For if ſhee reflected on the number of the ſlaine, it was not conſiderable; Or upon the death of the Generall the Earle of *Warwicke*: Shee might receive that loſſe as a benefit. He having beene indeed a cruell enemy, but never but an inſolent friend: Whoſe fortune had it continued proſperous as it began, it might have beene a queſtion whether the Earle of *Marches* or his uſurpation would have beene the more inſupportable! They urged farther the authority *Sommerſet*, *Deuonſhire*, the Lord *Prior*, and *Wenlocke* had in *England*, and the multitudes *Pembrooke* might arme in *Wales*. But aboue all, what a confluence of the boldeſt youth would beare to the Prince, would hee but take the

field, and appeare in his owne quarrell. Nothing having advanc'd the title of *Yorke*, but *Marches* preſence in all battles: or foil'd the reputation of *Lancaſter*, but King *Henries* unactive piety, and fighting ſtill by Deputies. The Souldier thinking it deſperation for them to hazard their lives, where the Prince, whom it concernes, timerouſly refuſeth to ſtake his owne.

But all theſe arguments exemplified by the moſt perſwaſive Oratory, could not recover the ſad Queene to a perfect life in her ſpirit. For either ſo many diſaſters, and falling ſo thicke together, made her deſpaire ſucceſſe: Or elſe the ſoule before a great miſchiefe hath a certaine divining knowledge of future accidents. And now ſhe beganne to thinke that ſmall time her husband had beene re-inveſted in the Kingdome, was but a lightning before the death of all ſoveraignety in his Family. Yet when ſhe looked upon the Prince, hope flatter'd her deſires, that he might hereafter revive the greatneſſe of his blood: but then the memory of forepaſt misfortunes, made her a melancholly Propheteſſe of future ruine. Howſoever the objects of her thoughts were diſmall, ſhee diſſembled them, and was as buſie in all polliticke contrivances, and as forward in ſetting forth the armie as the moſt reſolute Commander. But when ſhe perceived the Lords earneſt to have the Prince preſent in the battle; ſhee violently oppoſed. In reſpect of his youth, want of experience, and the ſo mighty venter. For if he periſht in this ſtorme, even hope it ſelfe would in him be ſhipwrack'd. She therefore urged earneſtly to have him reconvai'd into *France*, where in ſafety hee might attend the ſucceſſe of the preſent enterpriſe:

which

which if unproſperous, hee might there remaine, till by the increaſe of yeares and powre, he might be inabled to fight his owne quarrell. But the contrary opinion over-ruled in her all the paſſions, both of a woman, and a Mother; and having already loſt ſo much at this play of fortune, ſhee was perſwaded like a deſperate gameſter, to hazrrd at one caſt the remainder of all her ſtocke.

Having therefore yeelded to this reſolution, ſhe leaves the Sanctuary and puts her ſelfe in armes: The very name of Prince *Edward*, like an adamant, attracted multitudes to the warre. Her companies immediately ſhee advanced to *Bath*, where the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Devonſhire* were high in reputation; and by whoſe Authority dayly new forces came in to the Princes ſervice. Yet were they not growne to ſo full a number, as might incourage the Queen to thinke upon a battle. Whereupon ſhe keepes her ſelfe in the Towne, untill the comming of *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, upon the addition of which *Welch* Forces, ſhe reſolved to take the field, and encounter King *Edward*.

Who ſoone as he had perfect intelligence of her reſolutions, gathered his army together, which he (ever too confident of peace, ſo amourouſly courted by him) had after the victory at *Barnet*, licenced to diſperſe it ſelfe. And with ſo unexpected ſuddennelſe he made his preparations, that before the returne of *Pembrooke*, he incamped at *Marleborough*, within fifteene miles of *Bath*: and by the interpoſition of his Army, hindered all ſuccours could come to the enemy from *Wales*. Which ſo neere approach diſtracted the reſolutions of the Queene, and made her ſuſpect her ſafety, if ſhee remained

remained longer there. Wherefore ſhe retired to *Briſtow*, from whence ſhe ſent to the Lord *Beauchampe*, of *Powyke*, who had the keeping both of the City and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, to deſire paſſage over *Severne* there. But he refuſed her, and forced her to march up to *Tewxbury*, there to endeavour to croſſe the River.

In her way thither, as ſhe paſt by *Gloceſter*, which in diſcretion ſhe durſt not aſſault, though by the former diſcurteſie provoked: he taking advantage of the place and ſome diſorder in the Queenes Rereward; fell ſuddenly upon it and carryed away, after ſome ſlaughter of the uncircumſpect Souldier, much of her Artillery. This loſſe troubled her a little, but when ſhe found her ſelfe purſued by King *Edward* ſo cloſe, that before ſhe could reach *Tewxbury*, he with his Horſe were in ſight; deſperation ſeiſed her, ſo that ſhe began onely to looke which way to flye. And indeed to that extremity was her buſineſſe reduced, that there was left no no other hope of ſafety: The King having ſo much oddes in courage and number. But the Duke of *Sommerſet* prevailed againſt her feares, and the ſober opinion of moſt of the beſt Commanders: Vpon which, neglecting to eſcape at firſt into *Wales*, where *Pembrooke* had raiſed mighty Forces for her ſervice; She was ſoone by the King neceſſitated, either to yeeld or endure the battaile. Whereupon ſhe reſolved to fight it out that day: which was the laſt, and that which decided the great quarrell betweene the two houſes.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* pitcht his field in a Park adjoyning to the Towne and entrencht his Camp round ſo high and ſo ſtrong, that the enemy could on no ſide force it; and when he perceived an inevitable

eviteable necessity of present fight, he Marshall'd his host for the service. The Foreward he and his brother commanded, the Earle of *Devonshire* the Rere. In the maine Battaile was the Prince, under the direction of the Lord *Prior*, and the Lord *Wenlocke*. The Quiene seeing the houre draw neere, and that there was need the Souldier should have advantage of valour to equal the enemy, who had it in multitude, tooke the Prince with her and rode about the army. In her looke appear'd nothing but life and resolution, in her language almost an assurance of victory; So cunningly she concealed the wound her despaire had given her, that then onely it bled inward. Shee told them, that it rested in their courage that day to restore their imprisoned King to liberty and his Crowne; and themselves not to safety onely, but to honour and wealth. For the wealth of the rebellious Cities should be their spoyle, the Kingdome their inheritance to be divided onely among them, and all those titles the enemies so proudly wore, to be conferr'd upon their deserts. If the inequality of number frighted them; shee showed it was not such, but that they might be confident their great hearts animated by the justice of the cause, would easily take away the disparity. Then she wisht them to looke upon the Prince (whose personage the fond Mother thought, would make them like desperate lovers contemne danger) and fight for him their fellow Souldier, with whom they were to share in fortune, and who once in possession of the Throne, would never forget them, by whose courage he was seated there.

The Souldier generally appear'd resolved against the sharpest danger, receiving her words with much

much alacritie: And ſoone as the Signall was given bravely repulſt the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who having the leading of King *Edwards* vantguard, had aſſaulted the Queenes Campe. Vpon which repulſe, the Duke of *Somerſet* ſeeing *Gloceſter* retire with ſome apparence of flight (an apparence indeede it was onely to betray the enemy) ran after ſo farre in the purſute, that there was no ſafetie in the retreate. Then did *Gloceſter* on the ſuddaine turne backe upon him, and having by this deceit inticed him from his trenches, hee cut all the vantguard in peeces. The Lord *Wenlock* who had the conduct of the maine battell and whom it concernd to have reliev'd the Duke, onely looking on as if he were a ſpectator, and no actor in the preſent tragedy. *Somerſet* enraged with his diſcomfiture, and having *Wenlocke* faith in ſome jealoſie, upon his eſcape backe obrayded him with the moſt ignominious termes of cowardize and treaſon: and tranſported by the heate of paſſion, with an Axe hee had in his hand ſtrooke out his braines. This outrage begot nothing but diſorder in the Queenes Campe; and ſo great grew the confuſion, that no man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make reſiſtance againſt the aſſaulting enemy. So unhappy is government both in warre, and peace, when all authoritie is not conferd on one: a multitude of Commanders dividing the obedience of the inferior, and ever diſtracting reſolutions among themſelves. Whereas nature inſtructs us to a Subordination, and as in our owne, ſo in a publique body, it is monſtrous either to have no head, or elſe to have more then one.

The King tooke advantage of this uproare, and

by

by it gaind a moſt entire victory: For entring without any oppoſition the Queenes trenches, he committed a moſt cruell ſlaughter on all who reſiſted. Three thouſand of the common ſouldiers (for they alwayes pay for the raſhneſſe or folly of their Commanders) were ſlaine that day, and among them the Earle of *Devon*-ſhiere, the Lord *John Beufort*, and ſome other Gentlemen of name. The thicke of the Parke preſerv'd ſome, and the Sanctuary others but them onely for a while: for King *Edward* who was never an overſcrupulous obſerver of religious rites, with his ſword drawne would have entred the Church and forc't them thence. But a good Prieſt carefull to maintaine the immunitie of the place, with the Euchariſt in his hand, oppoſed the violence and would not let him enter a place ſacred to our moſt merciſull God, untill hee had granted to all there his mercy by a free pardon. But this pardon betrayd them, for on the *Munday* after they were taken out of the Church; and all beheaded in the Market-place at *Tewxbury*. Among whom of principall note were the Duke of *Sommerſet* and the Lord *Prior* of Saint *Johns*, and many other Knights of great reputation and fortune. By which violation of the Sanctuary he made good the opinion which the world before had conceived of him; that Religion never could prevaile ſo farre upon his conſcience as to bee any barre eyther to his pleaſures or revenge.

The Queene halfe dead in her Chariot was taken in the battaile, and not long after, the Prince vvas brought priſoner to the King by Sir *Richard Croft*. Who taking notice of the Proclamation, vvhereby the revvard of a hundred pound by the

the yeare during life was promiſt to whoſoever ſhould yeeld the Princes body, dead or alive, up to the King: (with proteſtation not to offer any violence to his perſon if alive) brought him unhappily to his death: Which when the good Knight afterward found, he repented what he had done, and openly profeſt his ſervice abuſed, and his faith deluded.

For King *Edward* preſently upon the delivery of the Prince, cauſed him to be brought into his preſence, and intertained him with ſome demonſtration of curteſie: Mooved perhaps thereunto by the innocency of his youth, compaſſion of his misfortune, or the comelineſſe of his perſon, the compoſition of his body, being guilty of no fault but a too feminine beauty. At firſt it was ſuppoſed the King might have ſome charitable intention, and reſolve happily to have ſeated him in the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, his Fathers inheritance, a patrimony too narrow for a King, and ſomething too large for a Subject, and thereupon to have enterd diſcourſe with him, whereby to make experience whether his ſpirit would ſtoope to acknowledge a Superiour. He therefore queſtion'd him what madde perſwaſion had made him enter into ſo raſh an enterpriſe; where the very attempt was rebellion, being againſt his Soveraigne, and folly being in oppoſition to a Prince ſo farre in power above him? He expected an humble anſwer deprecatory for life, or ſoft and gentle, according to the complection either of his fortune or his face. But he with a reſolution (bold as his Grandfather *Henry* the fifth, would have replyed with) anſwerd, that to recover his Father miſerably oppreſt, and the Crowne violently uſurped, hee had taken

armes

armes. Neither could he be reputed to make any unjuſt claime, who deſired no more then what had beene poſſeſt by *Henry* the ſixt, the fife, and fourth, his Father, Grand-father, and great Grand-father, Kings of *England*; And acknowledged by the approbation not of the Kingdome onely but the world: and even by the progenitors of King *Edward*.

By the ſpirit of which language, when the King perceived how much his life might threaten danger; with a looke full of indignation hee turn'd from him, thruſting him diſdainfully away with his gantlet. Which ſo mighty rage obſerv'd, and his ſo diſtemper'd parting out of the roome: The Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, ſeis'd ſuddenly upon the Prince, and with their poniards moſt barbarouſly murthered him. Of whom wee can make little mention, his youth having perform'd nothing worth ſtory, though it promiſt much. For under the governement of a Mother (the worſt education for a Sonne) he had beene bred up, untill this laſt ſceane of life; which hee acted alone, and bravely; ſo that poſterity hath ſence of his misfortune yet, and applaudes the juſtice of the Almighty in puniſhment of his murtherers. For all of them came to violent ends; *Gloceſter* being executioner of the reſt; and of him the Earle of *Richmond*, the next ſurviving kinſman of the butcher'd Prince. The ſeverity of which example, holds a glaſſe before the eyes of the wicked, and ſhowes them how rotten is all that greatneſſe, which is not raiſed upon, and maintained by vertue: and as the conſcience is ever after ſuch a crying ſinne, inwardly tortured upon the racke of

feare; so seldome doth the body escape outwardly an exemplary death by violence.

After this generall defeate of the enemy, the death of the Prince, and all the great partakers with the house of *Lancaster*, and the surprize of the Queene her selfe: the King returned toward *London*: This being the onely compleate victory he ever gain'd, from which no man of eminency escaped; and no man, who might pretend to a competition, was now preserved except King *Henry*, and he issueless and in prison.

And to make this triumph resemble something of the *Roman*, the King carryed with him his great captive the most afflicted Queene *Margaret*. A woman most unfortunate to her selfe, and most ruinous to this kingdome. For after her marriage into *England*. Soone finding her husbands weakenesse, safe however in being directed and strengthened by sober councell; she never left off inventing new machinations till she wrought him into her sole command, with the destruction of his neerest friends. So that to make the prospect from her greatnesse larger she broke downe and levelld his strong bullwarkes. The Duke of *Gloceſter* which might perhaps a little checke her ambitious eye, but being taken quite away left her open to every tempest. Having therefore by fomenting dissention at home lost (except onely *Calice*) all our void territories abroad: by the murther of the good Duke, her Husbands Vncle, shee gave liberty to the house of *Yorke*, to make their just claime to the Crowne; and in the end to put her out of that governement, shee prepostrously managed. In her prosperity, shee was rather ambitious, then wanton; though from the last opi-

nion did not abſolutely acquit her. Which aſperſion certainely was caſt upon her, by reaſon of her too intimate familiarity with ſome of the younger and finer Lords: For the more diſcreete and aged, either diſlikt her projects; or were diſliked by her, as perſons too cautious to conſult with a giddy woman. Her mighty confidence in the Duke of *Suffolke*, who wrought her marryage with *England*, hath left the largeſt part of that falſe ſuſpicion upon his name. For who are juſt to her memory, cannot but ſay beſide that ſhe was religious, ſhee was even too buſie to thinke of Love matters. But perhaps the misfortune of her carriage gave ſome ſmall occaſion of the report. Her proſperous fortune preſents her to us in the worſt colours a factious, buſie, and imperious Queene. Her adverſe in the beſt, a moſt induſtrious woman to recover what her folly had loſt, an excellent Wife, and a moſt indulgent Mother. And had ſhe never appear'd in action but when misfortune had compell'd her to it; ſhe had certainely beene numbred among the beſt examples of her Sex: But now the merits of her later part of life, by redeeming the errours of the former, ſerve onely to levell her with the indifferent. The time ſhee continued a priſoner in *England*, ſhee ſhowed us no face but that of deſolation: the ſtrength of her ſpirit, eyther broken in the murther of her Son; or elſe ſhee accounted it a needleſſe imployment now to raiſe her ſelfe above her ſorrowes. After ſome time, her Father with the ſale of much of that poore eſtate remained yet in his poſſeſſion, ranſomed her; whereby ſhe was redeemed to another ayre, though not to a freer fortune. In addition to her other miſeryes ſhe was puniſht with

a long life, which ſhee ſpun out ſadly and inglorioufly, living humbly upon the narrow exhibition her Father did ſteale from himſelfe to afford her. Her life was much the talke of the preſent and ſucceeding times: becauſe it concurr'd to the deſtruction of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, a Family beyond any then in the Chriſtian world, both in extent and dominion, greatneſſe of alliance, and glory of action. Her death was ſo obſcure (for who counts the ſteps of the unfortunate?) that it is not left certainely in ſtory when ſhe dyed.

But King *Edward* by her misfortunes reckoned his owne felicities: and now juſtly conceived himſelfe ſecure in that Throne, he ſo paſſionately had endeavoured to ſit at eaſe in. But becauſe the Sceane of his fortune had had more changes, then any King in *England* yet, except his Competitor: he continued ſtill with a moſt watchfull eye to looke about him. And not knowing to how dangerous a growth enemies might arrive, which for the preſent appeared weake: he thought fit to take order with *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, who remained in *Wales*, with a power unable to offend the King, but able enough conſidering the nature of the place, to defend himſelfe. Wherefore, that without a publicke trouble he might deſtroy ſo private a perſon, hee ſent *Roger Vaughan* ſtrong both in kindred and followers, with commiſſion by ſome ſtratagem to entrap him. But the Earle had a diſcovery of his plot, and to deceive the deceiver, ſeemed to give opportunity for execution of the deſigne: by which meanes hee got *Vaughan* into his poſſeſſion, and preſently cauſed him to be beheaded. But knowing this act concurring with the whole progreſſe of his life in oppoſition

poſition to the King, Would bring him to ruine, either by open power or ſecret practiſe; he reſolv'd to ſaile over into *Brittaine*, and under the protection of that ſtate to ſecure himſelfe from the preſent ſtorme. With him he carryed his Nephew *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, heire of the *Teuthers* Family by the Paternall, by the materiall ſide of the houſe of *Sommerſet*, for the civill warre had now deſtroy'd all thoſe great Dukes, who had with loſſe of their lives ſhewed their devotion to King *Henry*, and left the inheritance of their honour with a farre more favourable aſpect to this young Earle.

By the Duke of *Britanny*, they were received not onely with promiſe of ſafety, but with reliefe of penſion. Him perhaps the conſideration of the inſtability of humane affaires, moved to this noble pitty. But *Peter Landois* (the ſole directour of the Duke and a wicked man) perſwaded his Maſter to give them entertainement out of an avaritious hope one day, to make a good merchandize for himſelfe by ſale of them into *England*.

Yet could not the King bring his happineſſe to that quiet he deſired; Some few ſmall drops fell upon him after the great tempeſt. For a baſe Son of *William Nevill* Earle of *Kent*, commonly known by the name of the Baſtard *Fauconbrige*, having bin imployed Vice Admirall by the Earle of *Warwicke*, during the late combuſtions of the kingdome, to hinder all ſuccors which might come frō the Low Countryes to King *Edwards* aide, ſoone as he underſtood the Earles death, ſet up for himſelfe and fell to trade in open Pyracy. His conditions were ignoble as his birth, and onely can be ſaid a fit inſtrument to move the baſer multitude to ſedition.

betweene *Dover* and *Callice* he robd moſt, and had now got under his command a Navie great enough to worke miſchiefe. Eſpecially having the chiefe of *Callice* (who had ſided lately with the Earle) of his confederacy, and by that meanes ſafetie upon all occaſions in their harbor. Gathering therefore into his retinue many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the two former overthrowes, and preſuming upon the affection of the *Kentiſh* and *Eſſex* men, he ſaild up the River of *Thames*.

The intention of his armes divulging to be for the common libertie, and the redemption of the King and Queene impriſond by an uſurper. By which pretence, ever powerfull to incline the vulgar to ſedition, he invited to the quarrell ſo great a multitude, that the number was reckoned ſeventeene thouſand fighting men: Moſt of them the dregs and lees of former rebellions: Such who having beene heretofore on King *Henries* ſide, and wanting courage to make good the undertaking had by flight eſcapd; or elſe men whom guilt of ſome enormous diſorder had prepared for any attempt; becauſe neither could hope to remaine long ſecure from puniſhment, when once the ſevere eye of a peaceable government, ſhould looke narrowly into their offences.

With this he marcht to *Kingſtone* hoping there to have croſt the River, but being debard hee led his Army into S^t^. *Georges* fields, and from thence with his Ordinance made ſome ſmall battery on the Citie. And to ſtrike the more terrour, in the meane time he cauſd three thouſand of his men to be tranſported by boate at Saint *Katherines*, to make an aſſault on the other ſide at *Algate* and *Biſhopſgate*. Who being ſet a ſhore with a courage

as

as deſperate as their quarrell, offerd to force an entrance, but by the Citizens were bravely repulſt. The Lord Major and Aldermen directed by the great experience of the Earles of *Eſſex* and *Rivers* and the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, neglecting no part of the beſt Commanders. And ſo valiantly they purſued the rebels (who ſoone began to thinke) that *Fauconbridge* with much difficultie recovered his ſhippes. For hee overconfident of ſucceſſe had commanded them to fall as low as the *Downes*, little fearing he ſhould ſo ſoone be forc'd to ſeeke ſafetie at Sea, and having vainly deluded himſelfe and his Souldiers with expectation of great Forces from *Wales* under the conduct of *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*. With much danger of being deſtroyed at *Black-heath*, where for a while hee entrencht, he got at length to *Sandwich* and fortefied the place. Few of the Rebels who had any weake hope of pardon, following their Generall upon a forc'd retreat.

The Commons entring thus upon every ſlight invitation into rebellion, when the preſervation of King *Henry* was but mention'd, made the King begin to conſider how dangerous his life was to the State; and that his death would diſarme even the hope of his faction, for ever reflecting more upon the warres. It was therefore reſolv'd in King *Edwards* Cabinet Councell, that to take away all title from future inſurrections, King *Henry* ſhould be ſacrificed. For howſoever ſome either to cleere the memory of the King, or by after cruelties gueſſing at precedent, will have this murder to be the ſole act of the Duke of *Glocester*: I cannot believe a man ſo cunningly in declining envie, and winning honour to his name, would have undertaken

taken ſuch a buſineſſe of his owne councell, and executed it with his owne hands. Neither did this concerne *Gloceſter* ſo particularly, as to engage him alone in the cruelty: nor was the King ſo ſcrupulous, having commanded more unneceſſary ſlaughters, and from his youth beene never any ſtranger to ſuch executions. In killing the Prince he had *Clarence*, *Dorſet*, and *Haſtings* for his conductors; and in the very murther of his Nephews (which was the ſecuring his uſurpation) he truſted *Tyrrell*: So confident had his innated inhumanity made him, that he doubted not but others might be faithfull in villany. But the death of King *Henry* was acted in the darke; ſo that it cannot be affirmed who was the executioner: onely it is probable it was a reſolution of ſtate. The care of the Kings ſafety, and the publicke quiet, in ſome ſort making it, however cruell, yet neceſſary.

But that the world might not ſuſpect King *Henry* lived ſtill, and thereupon leane to new deſignes, he was no ſooner dead, but with ſome ſhow of Funerall Rites, his body was brought into Saint *Pauls* Church: where upon *Aſcention* day his face uncovered, he was expoſed to the curioſity of every eye. For the King was reſolved rather to endure the ſcandall of his murther, then to hazard the queſtion of his life: Which continually gave life to new ſeditions. From Saint *Paules* next day the corps obſcurely without any ceremony (in thoſe dayes with much piety obſerv'd toward the dead) was convey'd to the *Blacke fryers*, and from thence by boate to *Cherſye*. Whence, after it had reſted ſome while, it was remooved to *Windſore*, and there at length found quiet. The King having even

even after death partaked with the troubles and disgraces of his life.

The reason of burying him thus in the darke, I cannot guesse to be any disrespect to so great a Prince; but onely to stop the discourses of the Commons, who alwayes pitty them dead, to whose deaths their votes concurr'd. Vnlesse it be true what is commonly written, that the people began to censure hardly of his death, because at what time his body lay in Saint *Pauls*, and after in *Blackefryers*, a large quantity of blood issued from his nose. A most miraculous way of speaking the barbarisme of his murther, and giving Tyrants to understand that the dead dare in their language tell the truth, and call even their actions to account. For this manner of bleeding was never observed to happen, but when against Law, Nature had beene oppresst with violence, and seemed to challenge Iustice.

With what aspect he entertained his fate, I cannot write; But well we may beleeve, he could not but smile upon death, who by a continuall exercise in vertue, from his very Infancy had triumpht over sinne; which onely makes death formidable to a Christian. Of his outward actions, all good men of that time tooke a reverend notice: Especially of his due observation of all the Lawes of the Church, his exemplar piety, humility beneath the state, commonly usurp'd by Princes, and a modesty even to admiration. But they were the vertues, which Crowned the first part of his life, past over in a full prosperity, and appertaine not to my story. His misfortune and death onely fall to my taske. And in his misfortune he expresst so singular a fortitude, that he was never observ'd dejected

dejected upon the report of any ſad accident. But entertained all afflictions as ſent from the Almighty, and abſolutely reſign'd his will to that of heaven. How innocently he ſpent the laſt ten yeares of his life, which was in as much adverſity as ever Prince ſuffer'd, his ghoſtly Father gave a happy teſtimony. Affirming that in all that long tryall of the inward man, he never in confeſſion could accuſe himſelfe of any actuall ſinne. His imployment was prayer, and his recreation onely pious diſcourſes which perſwaded man to ſet a true value upon heavenly things, and throw a juſt contempt upon the world. And to ſuch reputation the ſanctity of his life arrived among the common people, that after his death they honored him with the devotion due to a Saint. And King *Henry* the ſeventh (who owed moſt opinion to his holineſſe, becauſe he had fore-profeſſed he ſhould enjoy that Crowne for which the two houſes then ſo much conteſted) labour'd his Canonization with the Pope But that ſucceeded not: For however the world was aſſured of his piety, there was much queſtion of his governement. So that he might be term'd a juſt man, b t an unjuſt King. Since his title to the Crowne was unjuſt; for though it came by deſcent to him, yet was it but a continued uſurpation: His Raigne was guilty, I will not ſay through his demerit, but through his evill fortune, of much miſchiefe, and the effuſion of a Sea of Chriſtian blood: And however in the contemplative part he was religious toward God, in the active he was defective to the world. So that to have made him worthy that honour *Henry* the ſeventh would have provided for him: He muſt either (being reſolved in conſcience his

title

title was juſt) have fully perform'd the office of a King: Or knowing it queſtionable have ſubmitted it to be diſputed, freely and upon the reſolution made reſignation of what he unlawfully poſſeſt. But Iuſtice which commands any diminution of greatneſſe, is ſeldome obeyed by Princes; and death onely makes them ſurrender up what was violently by their Progenitors uſurpd, and unjuſtly by themſelves continued, for till death ambition betrayes the conſcience, and feare of being leſſe makes it not dare to ſee the truth, which perſwades to reſtitution.

King *Henry* thus taken away, the forces under *Fauconbridges* command; which before had the ſpecious title of a juſt warre, could now pretend to nothing but an unjuſt ſedition. And ſo low they fell both in ſpirit and reputation, that all they intended was but to make ſhow of warre, whereby the eaſier to worke their peace: No man of name or power, who before ſecretly had favoured them but openly profeſſing againſt the enterprize. In *Sandwitch* nine hundred of them remained, till they certainely underſtood the Kings approach with a mighty power: then they ſent forth Sir *George Brooke*, to acquaint his Majeſty with their deſire to returne to his obedience, if they might by his pardon, be ſecured of their lives and liberties. They proteſted it was no feare or preſent neceſſity induced them to this ſubmiſſion, having confederates enough abroad to releeve them upon extremity, and for the preſent victuals for ſix moneths, and munition to oppoſe any aſſaule. If this offer might be accepted, they would give up with themſelves, the Towne and Caſtle, together with all the ſhipping in the Harbour: If not,

neceſſity

neceſſity would force them to their owne defence. And if they muſt dye, they would ſell their lives at ſo deere a rate, that the King might repent his purchaſe. Conſidering he had kill'd ſo many who would have beene as bold to have fought his quarrell, and loſt ſo good ſhipping, and ſo commodious a haven Towne; For they were reſolv'd to ſee both conſumed with themſelves: that the victory might be no triumph to the conquerour, and the conquer'd might have that comfort in their ruine.

The propoſition was accepted by the King, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* (whoſe wiſdome and valor had wrought him high in the opinion of the King) was ſent with a generall pardon to the Rebells, and authority in the Kings name to receive the Towne, the Caſtle, and all the ſhipping in the harbour.

But the King who never let any pardon be an impediment to his purpoſe, having them in his power; cauſed the Lawes ſeverely to proceed againſt them. And for the example of the reſt, *Spicing* and *Quintin* (two of the chiefe in this rebellion) were executed at *Canterbury*; and their heads ſet upon thoſe gates, which at their laſt being at *London*, they ſo furiouſly aſſaulted. And that the King might not onely draw blood, but treaſure from this buſineſſe, a Commiſſion of Oier and Terminer was directed to the Lord *Denham*, and Sir *John Fog*, to inquire againſt Offenders in the laſt rebellion, and to inflict either corporall or pecuniary puniſhment. But the Commiſſioners who underſtood both the neceſſity and intention of the State: made rather choyce of the later, knowing death would but incurre the opinion of

of cruelty, and no way advance the Kings benefit. Whereas great fines weaken as much the diſcontented, make the Prince as ſecure from danger, even with the reputation of clemency.

And that *Fauconbridge* the firſt moover of this ſedition might have no more priviledge then his complices; comming into *South-hampton* he was apprehended and put to death. The inſerting of his name in the former pardon, though often pleaded by him, ſerving onely to make him ſuffer the ſame execution with the reſt.

The puniſhment of theſe ſucceeding ſo well, the King proceeded againſt others. And firſt againſt the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, brother to the Earle of *Warwicke*, who with his ſpirituall authority had ſet a gloſſe of Religion upon all the later attempts. And by his working inclin'd the Commons of the North to ſo conſtant a reſolution for King *Henry*. With him the King tooke order, becauſe he found his ambition irregular, and ſent him to be kept priſoner in the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*. Where deſervedly he endured a long reſtraint, never attain'd liberty till death enlarg'd him. No man afforded the poore comfort of pitty to his affliction, becauſe in his proſperity he had beene inſolent and factious.

The manner of the attachment was, according to the cuſtome of the King, unfaithfull. For having admitted the Arch-biſhop, after *Barnet* field, not onely into favour, but a ſpeciall familiarity; as he was hunting with him neere *Windſor*, he promiſt to come to the *More* (a place in *Hartford-ſhire*, which was not long before purchaſte, and built up moſt commodiouſly by the Arch-biſhop) and there to hunt with him: with this caution that

there might be nothing but a liberall mirth, and friendly entertainement. With much complacency, the Arch-biſhop retired to his houſe, joyfull to ſee the King ſo free in his affection, without memory of former diſcontents. And that the entertainement might not be altogether beneath the Majeſty of his perſon, againſt the Kings comming, beſide all proviſion which the ſhortneſſe of the time could make; he had gather'd together of his owne and his friends, plate and other rich houſholdſtuffe, to the value of twenty thouſand pound. Next day expecting the preſence of the King: On the ſudden, Sir *William Par* knight, and Maſter *Thomas Vaughan* entered the houſe, and by vertue of a Commiſſion to that purpoſe, confiſcated all thoſe goods to the Kings uſe. Who having arreſted his perſon and ſent that to priſon, ſeized upon all his eſtate both temporall and Eccleſiaſticall: The former forfeited for ever, the later during the Archbiſhops life.

The crime objected againſt him was treaſon, for ſecretly aiding the Earle of *Oxford*; who at that time had fortefied Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornewall*. For the poore Earle ſeeing the whole Iſland loſt from the houſe of *Lancaſter* (in whoſe defence he had beene ſo conſtant) and all the great favourers of the quarrell deſtroyd: having no place of ſafety to ſhelter himſelfe abroad, tooke this corner of the kingdome, and endeavour'd to make it good. But this was but the enterprize of a deſperate man; for all his hope this way could be onely to prolong a wretched life without ſervitude. As for liberty he was his owne goaler, and his fortreſſe his priſon. The whole number of his Souldiers were but ſeventy, ſcarce enough for his

his retinue. Yet with theſe he managed his buſineſſe ſo happily, that though beſig'd, hee revictualled the place: and made his defence good ſome moneths. But when *Richard Forteſcue*, Eſquire of the body to the King, and then Sheriffe of the County, came downe, and by open offer of the Kings free pardon to all the Earles men, and ſecret practiſing; had wrought them to his purpoſe. The Earle was forced to yeeld, and with him the Lord *Beumount*, two of the Earles brothers, and *Thomas Clifford*: all perſons of great name and quality: The King receiv'd them to mercy, as farre as their lives were concernd. But for their eſtates (for now he began to husband his victories to the benefit of his treaſury) he confiſcated them wholly; not allowing the diſconſolate Counteſſe any part of her joynture. Inſomuch that during the life time of King *Edward* (for all that while was the Earle kept priſoner neere *Callice* in the Caſtle of *Hames*) ſhe was forced to live upon the curteſie of her friends, a kinde of better ſort of almes.

All now were reduced to order, except the Earles of *Richmond* and *Pembrooke*: and them the King labour'd to fetch in: For now either his nature was alter'd to a ſtrange miſtruſt, which in his youth had beene ſo taxed for an uncircumſpect confidence: or elſe he began to be govern'd by a Councell of a more wary judgement, and whoſe ſight could diſcerne danger a farre off. And certainely who compares the firſt and laſt times of the Kings goverenement, ſhall perceive a ſtrange difference in the pollicy: unleſſe in thoſe affaires wherein he obey'd his owne direction, and in them remain'd a taint of his naturall errour.

Which change of governement may be aſcribed to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, a man whom the conſcience of his owne infidelity, made jealous of the faith of others: who thought no enemy alive and with liberty, but full of danger, how weake ſo ever his power or pretence might be: and who at this time held the ſterne of the Councell, while the King at pleaſure wanton'd in his Cabin. By his advice Commiſſioners were ſent over to the Duke of *Brittaine*, in whoſe dominions the Earles remained, to expoſtulate the injury of giving entertainement, to any evill affected to the ſtate of *England*. *Pembrooke* having been upon all occaſions an open Rebell, and *Richmond* onely wanting age to take armes, and who ſhortly appeared to threa- no leſſe dangerous. They deſired him as he reſpected confederacy with *England*, and the common pollicy of Princes, not to diſobliege the King by comforting his enemies, and ſuccouring ſuch who could bring nothing but ruine to their abettors: Neither to preferre faith to two miſerable exiles, before love to a Prince, who had both the power and intention to joyne with him in any warre that might tend to the ſafety or honour of his Dutchy. They concluded with an earneſt requeſt that he would deliver up into their hands the two fugitives that ſuch order might be taken, as was ſafeſt for the preſent ſtate. But if the too ſcrupulous obſervance of an oath, perplex'd him, that at leaſt ſuch care might be had, that they might neither attempt confederacy abroad, or a power to enable them to returne home.

The Duke made anſwer, that in point of honour he could not condiſcend to the Kings firſt

demand; having upon their arrivall there given them his word. But for the second part he would beyond the Kings owne desire consult for the safeguard of his Majesty, and restraining them from any power to attempt new enterprizes. And perhaps, as it would preserve his reputation clearer to the World, so would it more advance the Kings purpose to let them remaine in *Brittaine*, rather then to have them returned into *England* Considering at home they had a great kindred, and by the slaughter of the rest, were growne chiefe of the faction of *Lancaster*; Whereas if they continued with him they should be in a free but a safe custody, in a Country where they were so farre from power, that they wanted acquaintance. And that himselfe would narrowly looke that no discontented persons should resort to them, or that they should make their addresses to any other Prince. Whereupon he intreated his Majesty to consider him as a Confederate most religious in maintenance of that amity, heretofore so happily begun, and hitherto so faithfully maintaind.

With this answer the Embassadors return'd, and the Duke made good his promise to the King. For presently he remooved all their *English* servants; and set *Brittaines* to attend them, who did rather observe, then serve them: Men who cunningly markt, not onely who made their dependancies upon them of the *English*, or with what people they held intelligence: but even their lookes, and sent the Coppy of them into *England*, oftentimes with a false interpretation. Them (that two together might not animate each other, and enter into dangerous Councells) they were kept divided, and all communication either by language or let-

ter absolutely interdicted. And (that both being in the same sufferance, might not conspire to the same escape) there was a guard set upon them, who narrowly though respectively watcht them. So that we may guesse this great care the King tooke for their restraint, to have wrought a strange effect. *Richmond* esteeming himselfe more considerable as he was more suspected; and by the feares of the King making valuation of his owne pretences. Great thoughts crept into his minde by the circumspection of such great Princes, and the vulgar both abroad and at home began to beleive (for they always thinke there are strange depths, even in the shallowes of Princes actions) there was much mistery in *Richmond*, title, and danger in his liberty. Whereas had he lived unsuspected by the King, he had perhaps dyed unobserved by the world.

By this negotiation with *Britaine*, having secured himselfe of these two Earles, who might endanger trouble to the kingdome at home, he began to looke abroad, whether yet hee had never liberty to cast his eye. His pleasures or dangers hitherto so taking up his time, that he had onely serv'd his appetite or safety. But now hee had quieted all civill troubles, and even rooted up the very feare of warre hereafter. He therefore thought it necessary to looke first upon *France*, a nation which had made benefit of our ruine; and while we buried our thoughts and courage, in destruction of each other, recovered so much life, they were grown dangerous. Of their farther growth the King was fearefull, and resolv'd, if he could not make them lesse, at least to keepe them at a stay. Whereupon having intelligence of a mar-

riage in agitation betweene Duke *Charles* (brother to *Lewis* the Eleventh, and then heire apparent to the Crowne) and the daughter and sole heire of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; he endeavoured by all art to breake off the treaty. For he considered how formidable the *French* would grow to our kingdome, should the so large territory of the seventeene Provinces with the other dominions of the Duke be added. How they would then be enabled to revenge those many injuries, the fortune of our victories had done them; when we should be left to our owne armes; the *Burgonian* (by whose aide we had enterd and conquerd *France*) now prepared to warre upon us. How *France*, superiour alwayes to the *English* in multitude, and extent of territory, and defective onely in commodious Havens, would by this be enlarged with a mighty Sea coast, and as good men for Navigation as the world then had: By which they would have absolute command at Sea, and keepe us within the narrow limits of our Iland: If they would permit us that. These considerations made the King sollicit both the Duke of *Brittaine*, and the Count S. *Paul* (the two earnest meditators for Duke *Charles*) to desist from further negotiation in the marriage. *Brittaine* he moved to reflect upon his owne danger, if *Charles* should survive King *Lewis*, as by course of yeares it was probable, and have so great an Empyre under his command. That greater Princes, like greater Rivers swallow up the lesse, and after a while retaine no memory of them. And if he presumed upon the friendship betweene him and Duke *Charles*, and the many courtesies done him, it was a streine beyond hope, that never yet kept faith. That *Brit-*

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taine never enjoyd all the priviledges appertaining to the Dutchy, but when *France* was disabled to infringe them.

VVith the Count S. *Paul* he dealt another way, by representing to him the neere friendship that ought to be betweene them too, in respect of the so neere alliance, being Vncle to his Queene: By which he intreated him not to urge a businesse so prejudiciall to the safety of the Crowne of *England*, which in a neere degree concern'd his owne blood. VVithall he advised him to take care of himselfe, and not to exasperate too farre King *Lewys*, to whom the treaty of this marriage was most unpleasing, in regard to the safety of his owne estate. To foment discord betweene brothers, being injurious to religion, and unsafe to pollicy. For Nature reunites them, and throwes both their mallices on him, who occasioned the first breach, and who for the most part is yeelded up a sacrifice to the reconcilement. He concluded with the madnesse of his actions who would provoke the just anger of so subtill, and so revengefull a Prince; for the fraile amity of so weake and inconstant a man as his brother Duke *Charles*, who so often had beene entrapt.

From both these Princes he received such answers as showed they resolved to prosecute their designe, but not to have him suspect it. Giving faire protestations of their desire to be over-ruled by the Kings direction. But neither of them understood the businesse in that dangerous nature, as it was conceived in *England*. For though King *Lewys* had no Sonne at that time, yet was there every day expectation he might have: the Queen likely to conceive, and *Lewys* in much health and

strength

ſtrength of body. And indeed ſoone after a young *Dolphin* was borne who ſucceeded in the kingdome. Moreover they conſiderd the malice betweene the brothers growne to that height, that all feare of reconciliation was needleſſe: And that there was no ſuch certaine way to maintaine a generall diſſention in *France*, as by enabling Duke *Charles* with a power to make good the former conteſtation. Nothing likely to incline him to ſeeke friendſhip with his brother, but being diſabled to continue an enemy.

The King ſuſpecting the reality of their intentions and reſolved upon any termes to prevent the marriage, had in his determination to have forgot all former diſcontents juſtly conceiv'd againſt King *Lewys* in abetting the contrary faction of *Lancaſter*, and to have enterd into a particular league with him againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. But before he would make the overture, he tryed by his Embaſſadors to know the certaine reſolution of the Duke himſelfe, who had in the marriage of his daughter alwayes held his thoughts apart from the world. And in truth the end of his intentions was to keep all neighboring Princes in expectatiõ, but to conclude with none. For at the ſame time when Duke *Charles* had ſo many underhand promiſes with the ſelfe ſame hope did hee entertaine *Maximilian* Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, *Nicolas* Duke of *Calabria*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*. His ambition being to create many dependancies upon himſelfe, and never to marry her to no man, unleſſe hee ſhould bee forc'd to it by ſome evill fate in warre, and then he doubted not but by her to worke himſelfe ſafe and honorable conditions.

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Much importuned by the Engliſh Embaſſador to give his reſolution, and not knowing to what danger the Kings ſuſpition might grow, or to what new leagues it might incline him; he anſwered him faithfully that he intended no ſuch neare alliance with Duke *Charles*. And that all thoſe apparences of treatie were onely to retaine him in diſcord with his brother, who otherwiſe might chance to be reconcild, and hazard to deſtroy that faction, which the neceſſitie of his affaires did inforce him to advance. Hee deſired therefore the King not to liſten to every falſe ſuggeſtion, but to believe hee would doe nothing in ſo materiall a point, without much advice, and care had for ſatisfaction of ſo great a confederat, and ſo neare an allye.

This ſo abſolute reſolution of the Duke tooke away the former jealouſie, which ſoone after would howſoever of it ſelfe have vaniſht. For Duke *Charles* not without a ſtrong ſuſpition of practiſe in King *Lewys*, dyed of poyſon, and ſo fixt a period to thoſe many civill wars which had diſtracted the ſtate of *France*, and to all thoſe buſie ambitions, which had ſo much diſquieted his owne content.

At home the King was continually ſtunge by a ſwarme of Creditors, who during his late troubles had ſupplyed him with treaſure, and for whom gratitude did obliege him to provide repaiment. He found his Exchequer emptie and a neceſſitie to deſire the Commonaltie to contribute with their purſes that many of his beſt friends might not be ruinated. He therefore ſummond a Parliament to be held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein though the reformation of abuſes, and

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enacting Lawes wholſome for the preſent time was pretended, a liberall ſubſidy was the ayme. But in the beginning all thoſe acts which had been heretofore made during the firſt part of King *Edwards* government, and abrogated by King *Henry* the laſt Parliament when for a time he was reſtored, were revived and enacted to continue in full force for ever: And whatever other ſtatutes were made by King *Henry*, repealed. By vertue of which acts all the Nobilitie who had adherd to the houſe of *Yorke* and had beene for that attainted, were reſtored in blood and to their patrimonies; and all of the contrary faction found guilty of high treaſon, and their eſtates confiſcated to the King. Then for reliefe of the Kings great neceſſities (for all thoſe ſo mightie fortunes ſerv'd onely to reward the multitude of his adherents) a full ſubſidy was granted; In recompence of which he gave them a generall pardon. And indeede by that, liberally repaid them; For by the late civill warres, the laps into treaſon was ſo univerſall, that ſcarce any eſtate could be ſafe if licence were given to informers the Cormarants of a Commonweale, who ſwallow much, ſeldome or never grow fat; and leaſt of all advance that they moſt pretend, the Kings benefit.

Some few dayes before the Parliament began, *Lewys* of *Bruges* a Netherlander Lord of *Gruthuſe* and Prince of *Steinhuſe* came over into *England*, who was receav'd by the King with all the demonſtrations of amitie: And on the thirteenth of *October* in the Parliament Chamber created Earle of *Wincheſter*, receiving with the title the ancient armes of *Roger Quincy*, heretofore Earle of the place, with addition of the coate of *England* in

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a canton. The reaſon of this ſo extraordinary favour conferd upon a ſtranger, was the much application of reſpect hee made to King *Edward*, when by the prevayling fortunes of the Earle of *Warwicke*, he was forc'd to fly for refuge under the protection of the Duke of *Burgundy*. For hee being a noble man of that Country, dedicated himſelfe totally to comfort, the King diſtracted with his preſent affliction.

Soone after him, the Parliament being newly ended, came Embaſſadours from the Low-Countries; who after the firſt open audience (wherein for the moſt part paſſed onely the complement of Princes) admitted to the King and ſome few Lords moſt intimate to the Kings reſolutions ſpoke to this purpoſe.

May it pleaſe your M^tie.

WEe are ſent by our great Maſter the Duke of *Burgundie* upon an Embaſſy that may prove ſtrange to the firſt apprehenſion, and even in it ſelfe contradictory. To congratulate your Majeſtie the glory of that peace you enjoy, and to invite you from it, to a new warre. But glory is like time, everlaſtingly in motion, and when it ſtops it ends.

Your Majeſtie hath by the happy conduct of your power and fortune, reſtored the Kingdome to it ſelfe; That was an act of neceſsitie. For you could not bee your

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ſelfe, if your great enemies had not beene reduced to nothing. Now as great a juſtice doth invite you and the recovery of a larger Kingdome. Which wee know your high ſpirit cannot refuſe to undertake, leaſt the world have juſt reaſon to ſuſpect you tooke Armes to live, not to raigne. For if your title to the Crowne of *England* be juſt, as man did alwayes allow in judgement, and Almightie God hath approved in the ſucceſſe; The ſame title is good to the Crowne of *France*. Both having beene united into one ever ſince the uſurpation of *Philip de Valois*.

The peoples affection to Princes of their owne nation enacted an injurious Law; that authoriz'd injuſtice, and confirm'd the Soveraigntie in the heires Male. The Female were excluded, as if the diſtinction of kind could make a difference in right, and the being borne a woman were to bee borne illigitimate, for the Law Salique in a manner baſtardizeth the whole Sex.

Your great Anceſtor *Edward* the third, whoſe name and magnanimity you inherit, with his Sword abrogated this Law: And call'd the Lawmakers to a ſevere acacount at *Crecie* and *Poitiers*, where more

veines of *France* were opened, and more blood iſſued; then any time records: Conſidering the ſmall numbers of the *Engliſh*. In the later of the two battels *Iohn*, Sonne to *Philip* of *Valois*, laboring to make good the pretentions of his Father, was taken priſoner, and ſo continued leſſe then a free Subject, by endeavouring unjuſtly to be a Soveraigne.

The little handfull of men with which the *Engliſh* then oppoſed the vaſt armies of the *French*, not onely ſhowing the high advantage the Nation hath in courage: But the miraculous juſtice of the Almighty, who delights to make the deſtruction of Vſurpers, his owne Worke; and not to permit man by his power to rivall heaven in the puniſhment.

Your Majeſty needes not Hiſtory to perſwade you to the quarrell, or example to aſſure you of the ſucceſſe. The juſtice of the claime will eaſily prevaile with you to draw againe your ſword, which hath beene hitherto almoſt ſtill unſheathed in vindication of your right: And that with ſo much proſperity, that they who admire your valour and direction, applaud your fortune.

But if the nature of man, delighted in the

the felicities of peace, ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to ſatisfie your mind with the triumph of thoſe victories, you have already purchaſt. Yet neither a juſt revenge, nor diſcreet pollicy will admit it. For how can *England* remaine ſafe from future injuries, and acquit her ſelfe in honour againſt thoſe who have heretofore affronted her: if *France*, where all the late combuſtions were firſt conceived, remaine unpuniſhed?

The huge body of the civill Warre lies now a dead trunke, wounded to death by your arme, but yet *Lewys* of *France*, the head of that monſter, though contrary to the ordinary courſe of Nature, retaines ſtill a life, and quickens miſchiefe hourely againſt this Kingdome: leaſt otherwiſe his owne be not ſecure. And ſhould your Majeſty out of deſire to avoid the further effuſion of Chriſtian blood, permit him to continue in the unjuſt poſſeſſion of a Kingdome, he would interpret his ſafety and your mercy to be either a blind ignorance, or a degenerate feare: And from your lenity draw the boldneſſe to prepare new troubles againſt your quiet.

And if it be not an over much care in a confederate and an allye, to make ſo narrow a ſcrutinie into your Majeſties affaires

Our Maſter beleeves that this warre, will not be unneceſſary for the preſent ſtate of *England*. In regard this way thoſe many evill humours, gathered in the body of the Kingdome by the late diſorders, will be eaſily purged away, or at leaſt diverted. Seeing experience teacheth us how impoſſible it is, for a Nation nurſt in civill war, ſuddenly to embrace a peace, and endure a ſevere government. And ſhould the diſcontented not vent themſelves thus abroad; how dangerous it might make the diſeaſe at home, is eaſie to be conjectured.

But all this ſhowes only the juſtice and neceſſity of your warre: Preparations great enough to oppoſe a King of *France*, yet we have not toucht upon. And that indeed is it, our Maſter gave us in our inſtructions moſt to acquaint your Majeſty withall: As by which it will be moſt apparent, how without any reflection upon his owne occaſions, he invites you to this undertaking. For his Highneſſe underſtands how farre this overture lyes open to a falſe interpretation, conſidering his enmity with King *Lewys*; did not the circumſtance of the buſineſſe ſhow how your Majeſty is rather deſired to a triumph then a battle.

Never

Never had *France* ſo many enemies, ſo powerfully united; and never ſo few friends, if ſhee may be ſaid to have any. For except onely the poore Duke of *Lorraine*, who happily may be a burthen, never an aide to any Prince; wee can hardly reckon a confederate. For ſo trecherous have beene all King *Lewys* his arts, ſo diſſembling his nature; that the world hath concluded it much ſafer to be at enmity with him, then upon the faireſt termes. His friendſhip having ruined ſome, his armes never any man.

In confederacy with our Maſter, and in abſolute reſolution to invade *France*, are the Duke of *Brittaine*, and the Count Saint *Paul*. *Brittaine* able of his owne Subjects to bring a powerfull armey into the field; Saint *Paul* by his kindred and intelligence to cauſe a generall revolt of all the nobility from the King. And indeed ſuch hath beene the carryage of that polliticke Prince (for that epethite his poore ſhifts have got him) that a continuall

mall contempt hath beene throwne by him upon the great Lords, and a moſt neere familiarity enter'd into with the baſeſt people. His barber being more acquainted with the affaires of ſtate, then the whole body of his Councell.

This prepoſterous courſe of favor, hath made the greateſt ſtates of the Kingdome ſcorne their preſent King, and reflect upon your Majeſty, whoſe comportment in warre and peace hath beene ſuch as juſtly makes your triumph in the generall affections of your many friends, and utter deſtruction of your enemies.

If it may therfore pleaſe your Majeſty to admit of that greatneſſe your high deſcent hath title to, and your Predeceſſors have had poſſeſsion of; The armes of theſe great Princes are prepared to ſerve you. Our Maſter firſt honoured your Majeſty as a potent neighbour, great in your ſelfe as in dominion. Then by marryage he grew into the neereſt degree of correſpondence; the title of Brothers, (a ceremony uſed betweene Princes) being due in alliance between you

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two: Laſtly, he had the happineſſe which Potentates ſeldome have (though with ſome trouble to your Majeſty) to enjoy entire familiarity: By which thoſe other reſpects, common among perſons of like quality, and which are often but weake eyes of amity, converted into a perfect friendſhip. So that this deſire his Highneſſe hath to advance your Majeſties glory and command, proceeds onely from love to the poſterity of your perſon, and iuſt claime. With How powerfull forces he will concurre to this great action, hath beene of purpoſe omitted: Becauſe the world hath had ſufficient teſtimony, how able his Highneſſe hath beene to oppoſe, if not oppreſſe, King *Lewys* without borrowing aid from a confederate. He therefore intreates to know your Majeſties reſolution, whether you will paſſe over and perſonally make your owne claime to the Crowne. Your Majeſties onely preſence being of power to raiſe a fuller armie in the very heart of *France*, then yet ever King of *England* led to conquer *France*.

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This overture tooke generally with the great Lords, who in their infancyes by their Nurſes having beene told no ſtories but of our triumphs in *France* (and thoſe tales imprint deepely in the memory) and now for many yeares ever acquainted with the warres at home, embraced danger as the onely meanes to honour. Moreover an appetite of glory, mingled with a noble emulation of the prowes of their Fathers, made every man of name thruſt forward to this action. Neither were the more covetous backeward, conſidering they were to warre with a richer, and a more effeminate nation; and not unlikely to returne loaden with ſpoyle, if not to remaine there in a fertiller and a pleaſanter Country. The Souldier, who was in a manner all the gentry of the Land (for the civill warres had engaged them all to the ſtudy of armes) reliſht this buſineſſe more then the great Lords. For they, having beene bred up in the free licence of warre, abhord to be circumſcribed within the narrow bounds of the Lawes, which never have abſolute power but in peace. So that the whole body of the Kingdome paſſionately affected the quarrell, and by their univerſall acclamations in praiſe of it, perſwaded the King ſoone to declare his aſſent.

Whereupon ſending for the Embaſſadors, he ſhowed his reſolution to the warre, which hee would undertake in perſon, and that very Spring (for it was now preſently after Chriſtmas) tranſport his Forces into *France*. He deſired therefore to underſtand, in what readineſſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had his army, and where he would appoint the place for the *Engliſh* to joyne, and which way ſhould firſt be taken. To which the Embaſſadors

ſadors made anſwer; that the Duke had his Forces ſo well prepared that if the King would nominate a certaine time when he would be at *Callice*; the Duke would be ſure three moneths before to waſte the whole Country belonging to the *French*, and to have his men ſo expert that they ſhould be able to inſtruct the *Engliſh*, unacquainted with the place. And as for tranſportation of his Souldiers they deſired his Majeſty not to perplex himſelfe, in regard his Highneſſe would provide boats for that purpoſe. Then that the King might perceive how faithfully the Duke dealt with him, they ſhowed the Articles agreed upon betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Brittaine*, and the Count S. *Paul*, to joyne in a warre offenſive againſt King *Lewys*: As likewiſe a Catalogue of the names of all the great Lords of *France*, who held ſecret intelligence with them, and who would revolt from the *French* King, ſoone as the Dukes army tooke the field.

With this ſo ſatisfactory anſwer, the Embaſſadors returned to the Duke, who in this attained the ambition of many yeares working. For all the feare which troubled his buſie minde was, leaſt King *Edward* won by the practiſes of King *Lewys*, might be induced to ſide with *France*, or elſe to remaine a neuter. And indeed the laſt he ſuſpected moſt, knowing the nature of our King ſo prone to voluptuouſneſſe, to which the noyſe and trouble of the warres never gives free licence. He therefore by continuall Embaſſies, kept him conſtant to his reſolution, and with larger promiſes of ſupply, and clearer apparences of ſucceſſe, prickt forward his ambition to the enterpriſe.

But all theſe arts were needleſſe, for the King

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was forward to the quarrell: Either out of a brave emulation of *Henry* the fift his Predeceſſor of the other line; or out of a confidence as eaſily to throw King *Lewys* out of the throne of *France*, as he had King *Henry* out of the Soveraignety of *England*; or perhaps not to appeare backeward in an attempt of glory, when the expectation of the kingdome called upon him to arme. For unleſſe ſome malice rancord in the genius of our Nation againſt the *French*, the *Saxon* governement having received a finall overthrow by them, in the conqueſt of Duke *William* (though to that great buſineſſe conſpired all the adjacent Countries) it would be our wonder why the *Engliſh* were never ſparing of their lives or treaſure, when any warre might be advanced againſt the *French*, And of this ſo extraordinary forwardneſſe in his people, the King tooke a great advantage.

To compact the body of this enterpriſe, money the nerves and ſinues of warre were wanting. The ordinary courſe for ſupply was by Parlament, and that at this time was held difficult if not impoſſible: In regard the King but a little before had diſſolved the aſſembly, having received for diſcharge of his debts a large contribution: and to urge them to a ſecond aide, would probably end in diſtaſte, if not in denyall. Neither could it appeare leſſe then extreame exaction, to force the Farmers, who make up the greateſt number in any payment, to yeeld to a ſubſidie; conſidering the precedent troubles of the Kingdome had utterly impoveriſht them by hindering tillage and all good husbandry. And for the Nobility, who pay a large ſhare in all generall collections; they for the moſt prepared themſelves for the expedition. And it could

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not but rebate the edge of their courages to be at a vaſt charge not onely in the particular ſetting forth of their owne perſons and their retinue; but in the generall preparations. There was therefore a new way found out, by former ages never knowne without oppreſſing the Commons, to ſupply the King, the name it bore was a benevolence, (though many diſproved the ſignification of the word, by their unwillingneſſe to the gift) and it was cunningly and diſcreetely required onely of the better ſort of people, who were knowne to have a plentifull revenue. And eſpecially of ſuch whom eaſe and wealth were likely to detaine at home. Knowing that the heavieſt burthen might be laid on them without a publicke murmur, as men hated by the Souldier, and upon whoſe proſperity ever attends a common envy.

In advancing this contribution no polliey was omitted, either by private menaces, or publicke entreaties. Some came in led by feare (not knowing to what indignation a denyall might provoke the ſtate) Others cunningly perſwaded to a vaine hope of enjoying the Kings particular favour by their forwardneſſe: Few granted it for love to the enterpriſe; Moſt onely becauſe their neighbours did it, and they wanted courage to diſobey example. In Hiſtory a Widdow is much ſpoke of, who having freely, and ſomewhat above the proportion of her eſtate, contributed twenty pound, received from the King a kiſſe. Which his ſo extraordinary favour (extraordinary to a Widdow declin'd in yeares) ſo overjoy'd her, that ſhe doubled the ſumme, and preſented it to the Collectors. By which ſlight paſſage, a judgement is eaſie to be made of the Kings nature: either of it ſelfe full of humanity,

humanity, or without difficulty bending to the loweſt curteſie, when it any way concern'd the advancement of his profit.

By this art monies were raiſed, and now nothing was wanting to the expedition. The univerſall language of the Kingdome being of the warres, and all exerciſes military. No perſon of blood or quality, but prepared for the journey, except onely thoſe whom infancy or extreame age exempted, or the neceſſary adminiſtration of the Common weale. And all they who went emulated, each other in the glory of their armour, the richneſſe of their pavilions, the bravery of their horſes furniture, and ſervants apparell. Every man being held ſo farre to recede from honor, as in his preparations he expreſt an unwillingneſſe to the buſineſſe.

The army conſiſted of fifteene hundred men at armes, fifteene thouſand Archers, eight thouſand common Souldiers, beſide three thouſand Pioners appointed to guard the ordinance and the carriage. Three thouſand good ſouldiers were ſent into *Brittaine*, to joyne with his forces, and aſſault *France* on the other ſide.

All things diſpoſed in ſo full a readineſſe, the King ſent over to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with the ſtate of the army; and to know in what forwardneſſe buſineſſes were on that ſide. Who returned anſwers full of confident promiſes, and exhortation to the King to make all poſſible haſte over, the Summer comming on a pace; which if paſt further without action, would indanger the loſſe of the whole expedition for that yeare. He aſſertain'd him moreover of certaine Townes under the governement of the

Count

Count S. *Paul*, which ſhould be ſurrendred into the Kings hands, for retreat to the *Engliſh* upon any occaſion of the badneſſe of weather or fortune. And indeed how weake ſoever the Duke knew the condition of his army, yet fearefull he was to expreſſe it; leaſt the King ſhould take advantage to give over the undertaking. The Kings nature being knowne diſeaſed ſo much with the love of peace, that the Duke was juſtly ſuſpicious how ſound ſoever it appeared for the preſent, it might upon the leaſt diſtemper fall into a relapſe.

Vpon theſe aſſurances from the Duke, the King gave order that all his Forces ſhould repaire to *London*: Whence after ſome few moneths ſpent in preparations, he marcht toward *Dover*. But before he tooke ſhipping, that the progreſſe of the Warre might be the more ſucceſſefull, the beginning was made according to the old heroicke ſtraine of bravery. For the King ſent a Herauld over with a letter of defiance to *Lewys* of *France*: in which he was required to ſurrender up to the King of *England*, the Realme of *France*, as due to him by the lawes of inheritance, and violently wreſted away from *Henry* the ſixth, by *Charles* the ſeventh, and as unjuſtly poſſeſt by *Lewys*. By which voluntary reſignation of the Crowne, was ſhowed how without effuſion of blood, the King of *England* ſhould be inabled to reſtore the Clergy, and Nobility to their ancient greatneſſe and priviledges, and the Commons to their liberty: Of which they had all beene ſo cruelly deprived, by the injurious uſurpation and tyrannicall government of *Charles* and *Lewys*. It ſhovved likevviſe hovv farre the Kingdome of *France* in generall, vvould by

this receive benefit, considering it would be eased of all those many and unsupportable exactions, which by those covetous Princes, had beene laid upon him. It concluded with a threatning of all the mischiefes accompany warre, and an absolute despaire of all future mercy, or care to bee had of *Lewys* his provision; if upon so faire an admoniſſiment, and ſummons given he refuſed to yeeld the Kingdome.

This Letter ſaith *Comines* (an Authour of that time, happy in vvriting many cunning particulars of the Princes hee ſerv'd, but rude in the art of Hiſtory, and ever blemiſhing the glory of our Nation) was pen'd ſo elegantly both for language and matter, that hee beleeved it vvas beyond the abilities of an *Engliſh* wit. A bold and ridiculous cenſure. For how could he who was borne no Native of *France*, and never had beene inſtructed in any learning, judge of language? Or how of the witty contrivance of the Letter; ſince in his owne Hiſtory, which is received by the world with ſo univerſall an applauſe, there is an apparent defect in order and method? And without vanity our Nation may aſſume to it ſelfe the praiſe, conſidering the narrow limits of the Iſland, to have produced as many Schollers admirable in all degrees of knowledge, as any Country on this ſide the *Alpes*. Neither was that age (though according to the neceſſity of the time, more expert in armes then arts) without excellent wits famed for literature. But this digreſſion the reader muſt pardon; a ſence of our Nations honour thruſt my pen out of the way, if this be from the purpoſe.

Whatſoever the Letter was in the compoſure, it was ſuch in the ſubſtance, that it thſ composed King

Lewys, and troubled all his imaginations. Hee read it ſoftly and fearefully; which was beneath that part of underſtanding he was moſt Maſter of, even pollicy it ſelfe. For it could not but beget ſtrange interpretations in the Court, when the meſſage of an enemy delivered publickely by letter ſhould be kept concealed. The demand muſt probably be eaſily conjectured, and this ſilent way of anſwering could not but procure ſuſpicion, that his reſolution might diſcend to yeeld more then became a Prince. But in the manage of this, as in all other buſineſſes, King *Lewys* delighted to give order alone, and ſhow his authority independant of any Councell, without perplexing himſelfe at all to ſatisfie opinion.

Having read the Letter he withdrew himſelfe into a Wardrobe, and commanded the Herauld to be brought to his preſence. To whom hee in anſwer to the Letter ſaid: That he knew the King his Maſter had not reſolved upon this enterpriſe, out of his owne diſpoſition; but overcome by the ſollicitation of his people, and the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *S. Paul.* His people infatuated with a vaine preſumption of victory, becauſe heretofore the ſucceſſe of their wars in *France* had beene fortunate, never conſidering the diſparity of the ſtate of things, or the uncertainety of events, eſpecially where fury and fortune, two blind powers, beare the whole ſway. The Duke of *Burgundy*, (loving warre for it ſelfe, and having raſhly engaged himſelfe into many quarrels) out of deſire to draw the King of *England* into his dangers, or at leaſt at anothers coſt, to beate the bargaine of peace, to a lower rate. The reaſon why he had ſo laboured King *Edward* to

take armes, and revive an abſolute title to the kingdome of *France*, being onely for his owne preſervation which was threatned by all his injured neighbours, or elſe as it is reported of people diſeaſed of the Plague, in envy to the health of other Nations deſirous to infect even his neereſt allies with the contagion of his quarrell. As for the Count S. *Paul*, who had ever ſubſiſted by diſſimulation and ſetting diviſion betweene Princes, whereby his aſſiſtance either for the proſecution of the warre, or concluſion of peace might be required as neceſſary: All his hopes in this quarrell were onely to fiſh in troubled waters, and by an univerſall combuſtion to raiſe himſelfe into authority, in regard peace levelled him with inferior Lords, and made his ſervice of no uſe.

King *Lewys* proceeded on to tell him in how miſerable a condition the *Burgonian* army was, having beene broken at the ſiege at *Nuz* (a deſperate and madde undertaking) and now returned home, the ſouldier deſtroyd either by the ſword or famine: and that ſmall number eſcaped, ſo wretched that the Duke might well expect protection from the King, but could no way bee of power to advance his purpoſe. Hee added how the ſeaſon of the yeare, Summer being almoſt paſt muſt of neceſſity deterre the King from croſſing the Sea, and many other arguments againſt the preſent undertaking: As if the Herauld being perſwaded to quiet by Oratory; *France* might have beene reprived from warre for that yeare. And to make him the more his friend, hee gave him three hundred crownes, with promiſe of a thouſand more, if the peace, ſo much deſired by him, tooke effect.

The

The Herauld overcome much by his perſwaſions, but much more by his money, replyed. That no travell on his part ſhould bee omitted, that might tend to the ſervice of his Majeſties intentions: And that he, as farre as his obſervation upon the Kings nature could reach, imagined no great difficulty to bring his Maſter to a faire accord: But that, as yet, the motion would be moſt unſeaſonable: Conſidering that after ſo vaſt a charge in levy of an army, and ſo univerſall an applauſe to the deſigne, his Majeſty could not retire, untill at leaſt he had led his Forces into *France*: and made ſome apparence of intending what ſo conſtantly he had pretended. Hee adviſed him therefore to let the army paſſe over to *Callice*, & thither to ſend his Herauld to, deſire a ſafe conduct for Embaſſadors: with order to make addreſſes to the Lords *Stanley* and *Howard*, and himſelfe. And that the way ſhould be prepared ſo plaine for King *Lewys* his purpoſe, that there ſhould be no impediment at the worſt to a faire reſpect: if not to a full ſatisfaction of his deſires.

All this diſcourſe paſt in private; In publicke there was caution, by the Kings ſtrickt command given, that no *French* man ſhould have any communication with him: And ſoone as poſſibly, he was diſmiſt with many faire words, and thirty Ells of crimſon velvet for reward. The King after his departure, expreſſing in his looke and carryage, much cheerefullneſſe and courage, either comforted by the faint hopes our Herauld gave him, or elſe cunningly diſſembling his feares.

The order of this diſcourſe betweene them, is delivered to us as a high reach of pollicy in King *Lewys*. But to an indifferent underſtanding it appeares

peares nothing but the ordinary wit of cowardize: and certainly how covetous ſoever the neceſſitie of his occaſions made him to buy peace, yet his manner of traffique at this time was beneath the ſpirit of a Prince. For although his largeſſe to the Herauld wrought the wiſht effect, yet he might have beene deceived by him, and by his ſo earneſt deſire to avert the preſent warre, have endangered it much more fierce upon him. Neither could it be imagined common diſcretion to commune his feares to an enemy, who might perhaps betray them to the ſcorne of the *Engliſh* army, or to negotiate peace with a Herauld (though even perſons of much worth and underſtanding) yet commonly remote from the knowledge of the inwarder reſolutions of ſtate, But the manage of this buſineſſe thus, tooke a good effect, and that concurring in a Prince, whoſe other actions were politickely ordered, made it have ſo happy a cenſure.

Vpon returne of the Herauld, the King embarqued for *Callice*, and after him followed his army. Which was tranſported in certaine flat bottom'd boates of *Holland* and *Zeland*, by them uſually called *Scutts*, lent as before covenanted by the Duke of *Burgundy*. And notwithſtanding the commodiouſneſſe of the veſſells and the multitude, being five hundred in all, three weekes were they in their paſſage, among all the forces not being one page. Which as it inſtructs us in the vaſt numbers of the Souldier, ſo doth it in the ſtrength and power; in regard they were all able men, who undertooke this enterpriſe, and who came not to learne but to make proofe of their knowledge in armes.

Soone

Soone as he heard they were certainly a ſhore, the Duke in all haſte came to congratulate the Kings ſafe landing, and happy arrivall of the armie: for there was juſt ground for feare, that the *French* Navy might have endeavoured to trouble their paſſage. But the Duke comming with a very ſmall traine, much afflicted the expectation of the *Engliſh*: who thought to have ſeene him march to meet them with five and twenty hundred men at armes well appointed, beſide a large power of horſe and foote: As by his Embaſſadours and his owne Articles had ſo amply and frequently beene promiſt. But to take away this ſuſpicion from them for feare it might any way drive backe their thoughts toward *England*; he told them that his ſo private comming to the King, was onely to expreſſe his joy for the Kings ſafety and theirs: and that his army was further in the Country, ſo well prepared for the preſent deſigne, that they ſhould have no reaſon to thinke him any way to have boaſted. He therefore invited them to march up into the Land, where they might be better accomodated, and conducted the King to *Bullen*: A Towne which having beene heretofore morgaged by the *French*, to *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, with a large part of *Picaray*; was notwithſtanding the often tender of the mony by *Lewis*, ſtill detained violently by Duke *Charles*. There hee gave the *Engliſh* a free intertainement, and ſtill kept their expectation high. From thence hee went with them to *Peron*, another Towne of *Picardy* kept upon the ſame termes. Into which hee admitted but few of the better ſort of the *Engliſh*, and over thoſe too he carryed a watchfull eye: The army forced to lodge in the field, which was the leſſe in-

conveni-

convenient in regard of the Seaſon of the yeare, and the commodiouſneſſe of pavilions and tents, with which they were ſo plentifully furniſht. The Duke perhaps loath to truſt the armie in poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, leaſt their expectation irritated they might attempt to him ſome trouble. To *Peron* the Count Saint *Paul* ſent to congratulate the Kings arrivall in *France*, to promiſe all ſervice to his enterpriſe, and his townes to his uſe and command. Whereupon the King removed to Saint *Quintin*, over which Saint *Paul* commanded there to accommodate his Army, till the Dukes forces were in readineſſe to take the field. But as ſome over-haſtie Troopes having got the ſtart of the Army came confidently toward the gates, expecting to be receiv'd, if not with triumph, at leaſt with all the demonſtrations of joy, the Artillery from the towne ſhot againſt them, and ſome of the Garriſon iſſued forth to skirmiſh, in which two or three of the *Engliſh* periſht. This apparence of hoſtility from a Confederate, confirmed the former jealouſie of the Army, and raiſed a ſtrange murmure both againſt S. *Paul*, and the Duke. Which increaſt by the difficulties of a tempeſtuous night, with which the *Engliſh* after were troubled: For an extraordinary raine fell, and made the ſo open lodging very unpleaſing, with danger of diſeaſes to the Army.

The Duke of *Burgundy* oppoſed againſt this diſcontent, with his authority; but in vaine: For not able to give ſatisfaction for his owne weakeneſſe and breach of promiſe, he was more diſabled to cleere ſuſpicion from another. Whereupon he tooke his leave of the King, intreating his and the Armies patience for a while, till he brought his

his Forces to joyne with them; and a full account from the Count S. *Paul*, of his Garriſons demeanure at S. *Quintin*.

But this his departure compared with the former carriage of things, begot yet a ſtronger doubt of their intentions in the *Engliſh*, who being ſtrangers in that place, and not having any particular arme in conduct of the buſineſſe; but onely a generall reſolution to regaine *France*, interpreted theſe delayes and falſe play to direct treaſon. And began openly to inveigh againſt their owne folly in confiding on the promiſes of ſuch, who indevored not the glory of the *Engliſh* name, or the Kings title; but onely their owne ſafety. For preſervation of which, under a ſpecious pretext of recovering a Kingdome, they had ſeduced them into a ſtrange Country, in hope hereafter to ſell them to the *French*. And although this diſcourſe were onely in the mouth of the common Souldier, yet did the thoughts of the Commanders participate with the vulgar; though not ſo freely opened For hitherto there had been no aſſurance given of any reall intention either in *Burgundy* or Saint *Paul*.

The much indignation expreſt by the *Engliſh* upon this occaſion was thought a ſtrange kinde of rude ignorance, and a note even of barbariſme. Which cenſure ſavoures too much of malice; conſidering it could not be judged blinde preſumption induced our Nation to this undertaking; the State, for it, having the faireſt apparence of humaine reaſon, and the religion of the ſtrongeſt oathes. And if the unexpected trechery of S. *Paul* ingendred choller; why ſhould this paſſion be ſo contemptible; ſince an injury from a friend, is ever

ever quicker and ſharper to the ſence; and all nations removed from their owne ſeates upon dangerous adventures, are prone to ſuſpicion. And for ignorance in the Art of warre. I ſee not how by mallice it ſelfe it can bee obtruded upon the *Engliſh*; ſince their onely miſery was too much experience in armes; which ever begets knowledge. Neither could they be but skillfull even in the militar exerciſe of the *French*, few of the Souldiery who were now of any age, but their youth had beene bred up and inſtructed under the command of that great Captain *Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury* and others: Not full twenty yeares expired, ſince we turned our ſwords upon our ſelves, and gave *France* liberty to recover breath.

But this delatory way in the Duke, and treachery in the Count, prepared the army to a good thought of peace: And brought the two confederates, into more hatred then an open enemy. So that when an Herauld came from King *Lewys*, he was received into the *Engliſh* Campe with much humanity; and friendly invited by the Souldier, to refreſh himſelfe with wine and meate, till the King, who was then at dinner, were at leiſure to give him audience. For *Lewys*, following the inſtructions of our Herauld, ſoone as he underſtood King *Edward* was landed, and had heard likewiſe of ſome diſguſts, appearing betweene him and the Duke; reſolved to ſend to him, and attempt to perſwade a peace: But ſo poore was hee in the outward ceremonies of Majeſty, that no Herauld attended on his Campe: whereupon he was enforced to ſuborne a fellow, of whoſe wit and confidence he had taken ſome notice, to act the part. Who having received full inſtructions from his

Maſter

Maſter addreſt himſelfe to the Lords *Stanley* and *Howard*, and the *Engliſh* Herauld, by whoſe aide being brought to the King, he handſomely delivered his meſſage. The effect of which was: To ſhow the great deſire the King his Maſter had to live in perfect amity with all neighbouring Princes, but above all with his Majeſty of *England*, as who in the extent of Empire, and his owne Prowеſſe was moſt conſiderable. That he had much reaſon to believe the preſent warre had not received the firſt life in *England*, eſpecially not in the diſpoſition of the King; which (as he was informed) abhorred the unneceſſary drawing of Chriſtian blood. That they who had firſt hatcht this quarrell, did it onely with their neighbours danger to procure their owne ſafety, and when they had made an advantagious peace, to conſpire with him, who before had beene the common enemy, for beating backe their beſt friend the *Engliſh*. That he doubted not but that his Majeſty would ſuddenly finde good ground for ſuſpicion, when he ſhould perceive the Duke of *Burgundie*, not able to bring into the field one entire regiment. All his Forces having beene utterly broken upon deſperate ſervices; to which an innate love to the warre had madly engaged him. Then he proceeded to excuſe his Maſters ſuccouring the faction of *Lancaſter*: To which he proteſted he never gave comfort for it ſelfe, but onely for the Earle of *Warwickes* ſake. Whom he ſupported onely to affront *Burgundy*, whoſe irreconciliable enemy *Warwicke* had ever profeſt himſelfe. And if he had inclined more to favour King *Henry*, he might well excuſe it, in reſpect of his neere kindred to him and his wife Queene *Margaret*;

garet, and ſomething too in reaſon of ſtate, to oppoſe *Burgundy* who pretended to be a friend (how falſe ſoever he proved to the houſe of *Yorke*. That if his Majeſtie would be pleaſd to ſearch up to the very head of this buſineſſe, hee ſhall find more ſtreames of aſſiſtance to have flowed from *Burgundy* then from *France* to King *Henry*; Duke *Philip* and this Duke (till his marriage with the Princeſſe *Margaret*) having moſt paſſionately labord the ſupportation of that family, to which they were ſo neare in kindred. The concluſion was to deſire his Majeſtie to grant a ſafe conduct for a hundred horſe, in whoſe company ſhould come Embaſſadours enabled with larger inſtructions, and who ſhould make propoſall of ſuch conditions, as could not bee rejected by the King or Kingdome of *England*, ſince they ſhould be for the honour and profit of both: Vnleſſe it would better ſtand with his Majeſties liking to aſſigne a place of treatie in ſome village betweene both armies, to which they might joyntly ſend Commiſſioners.

This meſſage delivered in a ſoft tone, expreſſing much humilitie, and ever aſcribing to the Kings greatneſſe of Spirit and the nations glory; together with promiſe to make overture of conditons both honorable and profitable; begot a favorable audience. And many of the great Lords, who had plentifull revenues at home, were as forward as the King to liſten to peace, and forſake unneceſſary dangers abroad. Neither did the greateſt ſtatiſts diſlike a treatie, conſidering that all our warres in *France* had rather purchaſte fame then treaſure to our Kingdome, and when our Souldier returnd home, their ſcarres were greater then their ſpoiles.

ſpoiles. And howſoever we had at ſtaits got poſſeſſion of the largeſt territories in *France*, yet ſtill wee retired back againe: As if the devine providence had decreed to have our Empire bounded with our Seas. Moreover they who affected the happineſſe of a Kingdome and loved their owne country, deſired rather *France* under a forraigne governour, leaſt if in poſſeſſion of our King, *England* being the leſſe both in extent and fertility, might be reduc'd to the condition to a Province, and live in obedience to a Deputie, enriching the greater Kingdome with her tribute. Other conſirations likewiſe of the preſent ſtate of the warres, prevail'd to get content for a treatie, whereupon with reward the Herauld was diſmiſt, a ſafe conduct granted, and the place for the Commiſſioners appointed in a Village neare *Amiens*. For the King were nominated, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony* S^t^. *Leger*, and Doctor *Morton*: for the *French*, the baſtard of *Burbon*, Admirall of *France*, the Lord Saint *Peire*, and the Biſhop of *Evereux*.

This at the firſt meeting brought almoſt the treaty to a concluſion, for on both ſides they brought mindes diſpoſed to peace. And although the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at firſt demanded the Crowne of *France* as due to the King by right; from which in honour he could not recede; and afterward with much apparence of difficultie condeſcended to be content with *Normandy* and *Guien*, yet they themſelves knew well Princes never uſe to part with Countries upon treatie, before the battaile hath impoſed a neceſsitie to yeeld. And indeede the *Engliſh* expected not that *Lewys* would be frighted out of ſo important lims of the body of *France*, onely upon the braving of an

enemy. Soone this firſt floriſh of buſineſſes came to more eaſie termes. *Edward* deſired to be gone without loſſe of honour, *Lewys* to have him gone with as much reputation as he deſired. *Edward* had occaſion of mony, and *Lewys* was willing to make him a bridge of Gold from *Callice* to *Dover*, whereon to carry backe his Army. And ſhortly to both their contents an abſolute atonement was made. Whereby threeſcore and fifteene thouſand Crownes were to be paid to King *Edward* before his departure out of *France*, and fifty thouſand annually.

Concerning the annuitie of fiftie thouſand Crownes, there is much controverſie among *French* and *Engliſh* writers about the name. They call it a Penſion, we a Tribute. And certainly the later (to ſpeake without partialitie to our ſelves) hath in it much more proprietie of language. For a Prince who over-awed by a powerfull Armie mediates by deprecatory maſſages to divert the battaile, and afterward buyes his ſafetie not onely with a preſent Summe, but an annuall payment cannot have a freer name then tributary. And as for penſions they are granted upon petition to the poorer and weaker, not upon feare to the mightier. But to compare the greater actions of Princes to the cuſtomes of Subjects: The threeſcore and fifteene thouſand Crownes was the fine King *Lewys* payd for *France*, and the fiftie thouſand annually the rent: Onely the farme was too mightie to be ſet, and the tennant too ſtrong and ſtubborne ever to quit poſſeſsion to his Landlord.

Then for eſtabliſhment of future peace (that poſteritie might partake in the benefit of this accord)

cord) it was concluded that the Princesse *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Edward*, should marry with *Charles* the Dolphin Son to *Lewys*: And for her present maintenance five thousand Crownes from *France* to be payd in the Tower of *London*; and after the expiration of nine yeares, shee and the Dolphin to be invested in the Dutchy of *Guyen*. And that on the *English* side there might bee no fraud; upon payment of the first summe the Lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheinie* Master of the Horse, were to remaine in hostage, untill the Army were return'd into *England*. But that the King might not seeme to forget his confederates, the Duke of *Burgundie* and *Britaine* were comprehended if they would accept the peace. The Count S. *Paul* was abandon'd in this treatie, as an efficiall servant and subject to the Crowne being Constable of *France*; and who by his dissimulation and treason, had most offended the nature of our King. And usually thus to reconcile great Princes, lesser are offered up for sacrifice.

This peace was generally receiv'd by the Army with applause, as by people who began to consider no victory before the battaile certaine, and in the battaile much hazard. Onely the Duke of *Glocester*, who stood aloofe off on the other side, for honour frown'd at this accord; and exprest much sorrow, as compassionating the glory of his nation blemisht in it. Hee repeated his jealousie of the worlds opinion, which necessarily must laugh at so chargeable a preparation to attempt nothing: And scorne either the wisedome or courage of the *English*, when they shall perceive them in so full numbers, and so well arm'd to passe the Sea, after a defiance sent, and challenge to a

Crowne to returne backe without drawing a Sword: Moreover to forſake the amitie of ſo conſtant friends, and in extreame neceſſitie to betray them beguiled by a common diſſembler: whoſe ſhifts and trickes of ſtate, like the ſlights of hand in juglers, are diſcovered, and wondred at by thoſe fooles onely, whom hee cozens. And what carried with it an apparence of moſt danger, to neceſſitate the Duke of *Burgundie* to a peace with King *Lewys*, whereby both may hereafter joyne in a common league againſt us: Who by this one act have forfeited all leagues with our ancient confederates, and frighted any other Princes from joyning with us.

With *Gloceſter* agreed many of the Army, who were either dependant upon him, or who had as unquiet thoughts as hee, ſome likewiſe, who having ſet up the reſt of all their fortunes upon this gaine, found themſelves undone in their hopes becauſe the Princes had drawne ſtatues. But moſt of a diſcontented humour, that maliciouſly alwayes interpets the actions of Princes to the worſt ſence. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* had a further and a more dangerous aime, as who by the diſhonour of his brother, thought his credit receiv'd increaſt, and by how much the King ſunke in opinion, he ſhould riſe. And in regard good and quiet men were delighted in the accord he would be had to the wicked and unquiet, and adde a luſter to his faction by drawing the nations honour to his part.

But why this peace ſhould endure ſo hard a cenſure, both at home and abroad is ſtrange, and above all why King *Lewys* ſhould aſcribe any honour to himſelfe, or thinke the advantage on his

ſide. For what eccliſpe ſoever the *Engliſh* glory ſuffered, certainly the *French* by a moſt ſervile way purchaſt ſafetie. They deſcending beneath the honour of men by mony to wave a battaile; wee being onely faultie in not having perform'd more then men. For if we conſider our ſelves ſubject to the chance of warre, why was not an honorable peace to bee prefer'd? Eſpecially ſince if wee had faild in the ſucceſſe, how wretchedly had our forces beene broken in opinion, and how impoſſible on the ſudden to re-inforce the Armie? And if the *French* had declin'd the battaile into what neceſſities had wee falne, the Summer almoſt paſte, and both *Burgundie* and S. *Paul* refuſing to let us have townes to winter our men? And if wee looke upon the peace it ſelfe, nothing is in it diſadvantagious to our honour or profit. Conſidering it brought not onely a great preſent ſumme and annuall revenue, but brought it from the then greateſt Prince in Chriſtendome enforc'd by feare. And for convenience, the marriage of the Kings daughter to the Dolphin, could not be but eſteemed of maine conſequence, why then wonne that apothegme ſo much reputation, that reported our King to have gain'd nine battailes in which hee perſonally fought, and never to have loſt any but this? Since in this hee overcame a Prince of farre greater power then hee ever fought with before with no diſadvantage, but that the victory was purchaſt without blood, which ſhould be eſteemed an addition to the glory of it. And if you caſt your eye backe upon the courſe held in the moſt famed Empire, and eſpecially in the Roman, which was the nobleſt, you ſhall finde they never refuſed their friendſhip to any

Prince who ſupply (as *Lewys* of *France* to King *Edward*) requeſted it: And tooke more glory to have Kings their tributaries, then their Kingdomes farm'd out to a more profitable revenue. But of this enough, and but enough, ſince it tends onely to vindication of the *Engliſh* honour; which the *French* vaunted ſo much to have ſuffered in this treaty. In which they thinke us by their wits miſerably overreacht, and perhaps indeed wee were, if the articles be onely judged by their feares, and not by the difficulties of our army at that time, and the juſt jealouſie of the King that his confederates intended not his but their owne buſineſſe.

The newes of this Peace no ſooner came to the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but in all haſt he poaſted to the *Engliſh* Campe, attended onely by ſixteene Horſe. The diſtarction of his looke and geſture expreſt the wildneſſe of his thoughts; ſo that the whole Army diſcovered his diſcontent, before he utter'd it. His firſt addreſſe to the King was, in queſtion of the truth of the common report that ſpoke a peace concluded betweene him and King *Lewys*? Which when he was reſolv'd was true, hee preſently broke into a moſt paſſionate fierce language. Obrayding the King with inglorious ſloath; and the indefatigable courage of former Kings of *England*: upon whoſe attempts waited ever the nobleſt victory. He made a ſcornefull repetition of the mirth his enemies would make at his returne: as if hee had come over with ſo huge an Army, Merchant like to trafficke for a little mony: and the contempt hee muſt needs become to his owne people, when they ſhould perceive the great conqueſts their contributions have

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brought home. And when it was intimated to him, that he and the Duke of *Brittaine*, were included in the Peace: he diſdainefully rejected it, proteſting the love he bore the *Engliſh* name, not care of his owne ſafety, had perſwaded King *Edward* to this enterprize. And to ſhow how little dependancy his Fortune held on any other, and how without mediation of an allye, he was able to make his owne peace; he vowed to conclude none with *France*, untill the *Engliſh* army had been three monthes at home. After hee had throwne forth theſe diſordered ſpeeches, in much diſcontent hee left the King: Who wondered to heare himſelfe ſo diſdainefully intreated: Having, ſeldome beene accuſtomed to any language, but what was polliſht to delight by flattery. But they who miſliked the Peace, commended the ſpirit of the Duke, overjoyed to heare their unquiet thoughts, which feare reſtrained from utterance, ſo freely ſpoken.

But the Count Saint *Paul*, aſſertained of this accord, was ſeized upon by a farre other paſſion. For by diſſembling with theſe three Princes, in hope to winne into love and reputation with the more fortunate, hee had offended them all, ſo farre, that hee knew not to which confidently to flye for refuge. *France* was irreconciliable, becauſe he had beene ever in practiſe againſt the quiet and ſafety of that ſtate: and who both by the tyes of allyance (as having marryed the ſiſter of King *Lewys* his wife) and loyalty as who held much Land in *France*, and executed the place of Conſtable, being oblieged to ſeeke the preſervation of his Country, had for many yeares nouriſht treaſon, and ſometimes brought the Crowne

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it ſelfe to the hazard. Then from *England* or *Burgundy*, there was no probability of friendſhip, both having beene deluded by his promiſes, and in the laſt buſineſſe at S. *Quintin*, provoked to the higheſt indignation. For although the *Engliſh* onely ſuſtained the loſſe in point of ſafety, for the preſent expedition; yet in point of honour, the Duke had his ſhare in ſufferance: Hee having before the Kings paſſage out of *England*, covenanted for the faith of the Count Saint *Paul*. But certainely the miſery of a petty Prince is lamentable, and his eſtate moſt unſafe, when there is any jealouſie growing betweene his more potent neighbours: For Neutrality is incompatible with his fortune, in regard his Country ſhall then lye open to the ſpoyle of every army, if he deny to declare himſelfe, and if he declare himſelfe; he muſt run the hazard of anothers Fortune. And oftentimes the very ſcituation of his Principality enforceth him to take part, not with the ſtronger or juſter; but with the nearer neighbouring, as in danger of whoſe rage his eſtate is moſt ſubject. But in addition to the miſery of his Fortune, S. *Paul* had the unquietneſſe of minde, raiſed up into a high ambition, by the cunning of wit. For he had ſo many, and ſo farre fetches in his imaginations, and of them ſome had proſpered ſo much to his advantage; that it made him preſumptuous of his abilities to diſſemble, and therefore continue in it; till at laſt the diſcovery tooke away all beliefe from his after pretentions, and happily too from his reall intentions. But among the greateſt of his misfortunes, is to be reckoned, the time he lived in: For had he not met with ſo politicke a Prince as *Lewis* of *France*, who had likewiſe the

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ſtart of him in good lucke; he queſtionleſſe might have attained ſome one of thoſe many deſignes, he ſo wittily and probably contrived. But in the conduct of their affaires, Princes ſhall finde a diſcreet honeſty not onely toward God, but even to the depraved World, the ſafeſt rule of humane actions. For the abſolute diſſolution of a ſtate was never knowne to happen by obſervance of faith or Religion: and ſeldome in the time of a good Prince, I meane if his goodneſſe were active, not over-ruled by evill Counſell to miſgovernement.

S. *Paul* in this diſtraction of thoughts endeavoured to recover a game quite loſt, and made his addreſſes to the King of *England*; whom he believed to be of the eaſieſt nature, and from whom he expected leſſe ſeverity, becauſe the King had ſuffered leſſe then the others by his diſſimulation. He therefore firſt excuſed the diſtaſte given the *Engliſh* at S. *Quintin*, caſting the whole fault upon the unhappy raſhneſſe of his Souldiers billited in the Towne, and the jealouſie of the Townesmen: Then hee adviſed him to be wary of giving too much faith to King *Lewis*, who was reſolved after the departure of the *Engliſh* army to obſerve no covenant: wherefore his ſafeſt courſe would be to demand *Eu* and S. *Valerie* to billet his Souldiers in this Winter, which he was ſecure *Lewis* his feares durſt not deny; and by which grant hee would not be neceſſitated to ſo ſudden a returne. Laſtly, (obſerving the avarice of the Kings diſpoſition in the laſt treaty) hee tendered him the loane of fifty thouſand Crownes, and promiſe of all faithfull ſervice in the future.

But the memory of former unfaithfull paſſages, and

and desire to enjoy the pleasures of peace, defend the King so farre to these new propositions, that it ended even in scornefull language of the offerer, which drove S. *Paul* into utter despaire. For the King was not to be remooved from his new begunne amity with *Lewys*, which every day by the interchange of favours, and by laboring to excell each other in confidence, gathered increase. For presently upon conclusion of the Articles betweene the Commissioners, a truce being made, untill the peace were ratified by the oathes of both the Princes; the *English* souldiers had free admission into all the *French* townes. And one day so great number of the army went to make merry in *Amiens*, as might have endangered the surprisall if there had not beene faithfull intentions in King *Edward*. But hee to shew the integrity of his mind, and to take away all occasion of jealousie of any underhand designe, sent to King *Lewys* to intreate him to give order for restraint, if by entering in so large multitudes the souldier endangered suspicion: which *Lewys* (never overcome in Complement) refused with many protestations of his confidence, onely desiring our King, if he disliked the absence of so considerable a part of his Army from the Campe, to send some Yeomen of his Crowne to guard the gates, in regard hee was resolved no *French* man should stop the passage of the *English*. But our King strained his curtesie much too high, when to out-vye King *Lewys* his favours, he offered to give him a catalogue of all the *French* Noblemen, who had conspired with S. *Paul* in this warre, and had given faith to revolt to the *English*. For as in the rule of common justice, this discovery could give no better an attribute

tribute to the King then that of ſtate Informer; ſo could it not but infinitely prejudice the affaires of *England*; conſidering it would ſhut up for ever the paſſage to all intelligence, if this peace ſhould chance to breake hereafter. And indeed by ſo voluntary undertaking that office, which an honeſt minde thinkes it ſelfe unhappy, preſents his nature to us moſt ignoble to be forced to: ſince this treaſon was onely intentionall, and as the ſtate of buſineſſes now ſtood in *France*, reconciled to the *Engliſh*, it no way concerned the ſafety of his new confederate.

On the other ſide King *Lewys* ſhowed himſelfe moſt affectionate to the *Engliſh*, when, contrary to the circumſpection of his nature, hee rejected all the ſuſpicions of his Councell, who wiſht him to be watchfull that King *Edward* by pretending this peace, did not betray him to a ruinous ſecurity: When likewiſe he ſent ſuch exceeding plenty of all proviſion to the *Engliſh* Campe, and liberally feaſted thoſe ſo innumerable multitudes, who dayly reſorted to *Amiens*. But perhaps ſome ſtate Critickes will interpret the former in him, not a good opinion of our faith; but a conceit of a dull ignorant honeſty in our Nation not quicke to take advantages: and the later onely an obſequious way to continue us in our former reſolution for peace. What ever paſſion prevaild with him in other curteſies, I am confident hee expreſt more Nobleneſſe then in any other action of his life; When he refuſed to deſtroy the *Engliſh* army; having oftentimes ſo faire opportunity, by reaſon of the many diſorders the truce begot.

While theſe paſſages of endearement laſted betweene the two Kings, a place convenient for an enter-

enterview was found out at *Picquigny*, a Towne three leagues from *Amiens*, ſtanding upon the River *Some*. Commiſſioners to provide there ſhould be no danger of treaſon in the place, for the King were the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony*, S. *Leger*: for the *French*, the Lord of *Bouchage* and *Comines*. In the choyce of which place *Comines* layes a groſſe overſight to our Commiſſioners. For he affirmes by reaſon of a Mariſh on both ſides the cauſey, on which the King was to come to the Bridge where the meeting was; his perſon might have beene in danger, if the *French* had not meant good faith. And if this were true, it certainely deſerved a ſignall reprehenſion; in regard the ſad experience of thoſe times taught, there could not bee too much circumſpection at ſuch an enterview: But the ſucceſſe guilty of no infelicity; cleered the Commiſſioners either quite from the fault, or from much of the blame.

At the meeting there was as much interchange of curteſie, as could bee betweene two Princes. The *French* King was firſt at the grate (for theſe two Lions could not without danger of combat meete but at ſo ſafe a diſtance) and our King was a Gallant in manage of his body, by bending himſelfe lower at ſalutation: In which he expreſt youthfullneſſe and Court ſhip. In their language was much of ſweeteneſſe and endearing, and in their behaviour an apparence of a congratulatory joy. Each labouring to obtaine the victory in the expreſſions of a cordiall affection; and indeed the maine buſineſſe tooke up leſt part of the time. Twelve perſons of principall name, attended on each Prince according to the nature of the Ceremony, out-vying each other in the curioſity and

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riches of their apparell. On the *Engliſh* ſide the Duke of *Glocester* was abſent, in regard his preſence ſhould not approve, what his opinion and ſence of honour had heretofore diſallowed. And that there might bee no fraud nor treaſon, on the *Engliſh* ſide were foure of the *French*, and on the *French* foure of the *Engliſh*: who watchfully obſerved every word and geſture: So much jealouſie waits upon even the moſt friendly meetings, and ſo ſuſpected is the faith of Princes. Eight hundred men at armes attended on the *French* King, on the King of *England* his whole Army. Which ſet in battell array to the beſt advantage for the eye, afforded a proſpect of much delight and bravery to them; who at a more unfriendly encounter would have trembled at the ſight.

The Chancellor of *England* made an Oration congratulatory for the happy accord: whereby ſo much blood was preſerv'd in the veines of both people, and ſo many bleſſings of peace like to enrich both Kingdomes. His congratulation was intermingled with propheſie of future happineſſe, which would grow ſtronger by the age of time; touching in that upon the marriage of the Dolphin with the Lady *Elizabeth* of *England*. But the good Biſhop of *Lincolne* (for in him was then the office of Chancellor) in this ſhowed himſelfe a better Orator, then Prophet. Himſelfe living afterward to diſprove his owne divination.

After the Oration ended, and the two Kings ſworne to the forementioned peace, King *Lewis* ſomething wantonly (as who knew how to vant his language beſt to King *Edwards* eare) invited him to take a journey as farre as *Paris*: where if

any of the beauties should make him trespasse upon his chastitie; the Cardinall of *Burbon* (a gentle Ghostly father) should easily afford him absolution. The King in the pleasure of his looke approved the facetiousnesse of the discourse, and found no great difficultie in himselfe to admit the offer.

But King *Lewys* (who never used mirth but as a preparative for something serious) having wrought himselfe into the Kings good liking; and as he thought facilitated him to grant any request, urged that the Duke of *Britaine* might not remaine in the protection of the *English*: But that he might be left to his owne defence, against the just anger of the *French*, whom hee had so often provoked by open confederacies and secret practises. To which the King answered resolutely that hee never would forsake the care of a confederate, who had maintained his faith so constantly. And afterward importuned by some great Lords, imployd to that negotiation by *Lewys*; hee not onely shewed an apparent distaste to the motion: but openly profest, that rather then the Duke should be endangered in his safetie, he would forget all other amities, and passe the Seas himselfe to his relefe. Which shewed a noble disposition in the King and an advisd judgement: For the Duke had beene ever friendly to him in the worst of fortune, and in his behalfe a most faithfull neighbour; and in this enterprize on *France* had used no dissimulation, nor in the least carriage of businesses betrayd the faith at first he promisd. In the protection therefore of him against the *French*, the King shewed the gratitude of his memory; as likewise a politicke caution that the

Crowne of *France* might not grow too potent by warring with a weaker Prince: whoſe ruine could not but give to it a dangerous addition.

But this diſcourſe touching the Duke was in private betweene the Kings: for *Lewys* to ſhow the authoritie he had over his greateſt Lords, had commanded them to retire when hee enterd into this ſpeech. And in treating this buſineſſe, which ſo nearely concern'd the pollicie of his intentions, he ſhewed a great art; not urging the King ſo farre, as that the deniall might come off with a diſtaſte. But ſmoothly he gave it over, when hee perceiv'd him not eaſily to be remov'd: although with ſome inward difficultie to finde his affection ſo conſtant to the Duke: of whom hee had reſolv'd to make a ſpoile, and to lay the firſt ſtone of his mightie building in his deſtruction.

Hee preſently therefore diverted his diſcourſe againe to ceremony, and after ſome ſhort intercourſe of courtſhip they both at the ſame minute parted from the grate, and tooke horſe: publickly giving very liberall commendations of each other. And how ever enterviewes are generally eſteem'd unſafe for Princes, in regard the advantage falling of neceſſitie on the one part, throwes a contempt upon the other: yet this was both in probabilitie before and after in the ſucceſſe moſt fortunate. For both Princes though of different complexions had equall preheminences, and by ſeverall wayes came to ſtand upon even ground.

King *Edward* had the advantage in youth, perſonage, and behaviour, which win ſuddenly upon eſtimation: *Lewys* in the cunning of wit, and authority of his carriage, which although ſlowlier,

sinke deeper in opinion. *Edward* had a daring courage ever seconded by a propitious fortune: *Lewys* a circumspect judgement which orderd businesses so sure, that he left scarce any thing to fortune. *Edward* by his Sword had brought himselfe to the present greatnesse of his state: *Lewys* by his pollicie had setled himselfe in his fathers conquests. And indeed so apparent was the equalitie of these Princes, that they both dispaired to gaine any thing by opposition: which made *Lewys* at any rate desirous to buy King *Edwards* returne; and *Edward* willing no more to traffique with *Lewys*, from whom nothing was to be got in the way of bargaine: What soever the one did by valour, the other likely to undoe by cunning.

This peace by all conjecture was likely to suffer in opinion at home, where by comparing the fortune of the present with that of former expeditions, expectation promist it selfe nothing lesse then the entire recovery of *France*. To prevent which the King had happily, perhaps judiciously (as who foresaw that the successe might end an accord) brought over with him many from *London* for their wealth of most reputation in the Citie. These men whom plentie endeard to the love of life, soone as hee had resolved to decline the present warre, hee could to be assaulted every houre with new feares: Representing to their affrighted minds the horror of a battell; the many difficulties of a siege, and the certaintie of a timelesse death if not by the Cannon or the Sword, yet by the inconveniences of lodging and the weather, which the winter comming on was likely to be most tempestious: And if beyond hope death were

were escaped, how cruell might bee an imprisonment, and how deepe the ransome. Then hee gave order that the Enemie should bee reported of farre more danger then indeede hee was; and every night false alarums to bee given. And for distrust already held of *Burgundie* and *S. Paul* hee lets it bee augmented in the Army; causing rumors to be spread abroad that there was treason in them from the beginning of this enterprise; and that now they were prepard to unite their forces with the *French* to the utter destruction of the *English*.

By which sleights hee so moulded them to his desires, that they writ backe to their friends, the impossibilities of any successe in the present businesse, and the great judgement and fortune of the King, if he could conclude a peace, with advantage of honour. The example of this pollicie King *Edward* bequeath'd to *Henry* the seventh, who left none of his predecessors arts unpractisd that might advance eyther his profit or reputation. And so farre this desire of peace and delight in it spread it selfe, that when upon the day of the enterview by accident a white pigeon lighted upon the Kings pavilion, and there pruned it selfe after a shower of raine, the Sunne shining comfortably, the Souldiers cryed out it was the Holy Ghost, who descended in that forme, to show how gratefull the present accord was to heaven. Which interpretation pleasd exceedingly the present humour of the King: Any superstition being nourisht in the subject, which tended to advance the reputation of their Prince, especially when his actions are doubtfull to bee understood.

The night that ensued the enterview, many of the *English* nobilitie resorted to *Amiens*, the *French* affabilitie, and something too of curiositie inviting them. The Lord *Howard*, who was alwayes foremost in his application to King *Lewis*, at Supper whispered him in the eare, that hee conceiv'd his Master might bee perswaded without much scruple to make a journey to *Paris*, where by a friendly entertainement the new begun amitie, might be perfected.

But the wary King had no desire to bid so dangerous a guest to *Paris*; for feare the delicacies of the place might invite him, either to a too chargeable continuance there, or to such a love of the *French* aire, that it might perswade him to returne hereafter thither, though unbidden. Hee therefore chid his owne overforward straining a complement, and was forc'd to the invention of an excuse to take away discurtesie, from denyall of that before ceremoniously he had offerd: he answer'd the Lord *Howard* thereupon suddenly, and to the outward judgement seriously, that hee was extreame sorry the necessitie of his unsetled state, would not afford him licence for so much happinesse: being presently to make an expedition against the Duke of *Burgundie*. Who was busie in his preparations against him, so that with safetie yet, hee could not attend the pleasures of peace. Which answer gave but a halfe satisfaction; but the Lord *Howard* was devoted to his affaires, and that made the rellish of it better with the King.

But that the King might neither reape all the benefit nor yet beare all the blame of this peace, there were few Lords, great in opinion of the

state,

ſtate, but ſhared proportionably in the booties. Even the ſcrupulous Duke of *Glocester* returned not home without a large preſent both of Plate and Horſes. For when he ſaw the whole ſtreames of the Armie flowing to King *Lewis*, either out of curioſitie, or in pollicie loath to particularize any enmitie upon himſelfe from ſo potent a Prince, he went to him at *Amiens*, where hee found a reſpect anſwerable not onely to the greatneſſe of his blood, but to the extent of his judgement and authoritie.

But with him King *Lewis* dealt with more circumſpection, knowing it impoſſible to winne ground upon him by any ſlight or ſtrength of wit. The good affection of all the other Lords he bought up, according to the ordinary courſe in Markets: As they were worth more in the Kings eſteemation, ſo were they at a higher price with him. The principall men of name who were in penſion as wee find them in Hiſtory, were the Lord *Haſtings*, ſtiled *Chamberlain* to the King, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheiney* Maſter of the Horſe, S. *Anthony*, S. *Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*. Among theſe, beſide the preſent guifts, hee annually diſtributed ſixteene thouſand Crownes, and exacted from every man an acquittance for the receit. Which no man refuſed, but onely the Lord *Haſtings*, denying abſolutely that ever his hand ſhould be ſeene among the Kings accounts at *Paris*; but welcomed ſtill the penſion, which without that formalitie was continued.

At how high a rate King *Lewis* prized his amitie with *England* by this profuſe liberalitie (a qualitie ſo contrary to his parſimonious diſpoſition) is eaſily to bee judged. But how lawfull it was

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in the receivers, I will not too severely censure. For although in this Kings raigne, as likewise in the time of *Henry* the seventh, many of the great Counsellors were in pension to *Lewys*, and afterward to his Sonne *Charles* the eight, yet is hard to judge how it could agree with the decorum of their dignitie. It being much beneath the honour of a noble mind to owe any part of their revenue to a Prince, whose safetie and advantage must never be in the first place of their care. In peace it may happily not carry any apparence of disloyaltie, because by their good offices they may deserve that way of gratitude; but in times of jealousie, and especially of enmitie it can no way bee allowed. For though the Pensioner give no underhand intelligence prejudicial to his Country, yet by a certain necessity of gratitude, it stops the freedom of advice, and renders him however undeserving to the one. Rewards are given for forepast merits, pensions to retaine in future: he therefore who receives a pension, obligeth himselfe tacitly to the service of two Masters: And oftentimes the second in his thoughts, is that Prince to whom hee owes a naturall dutie: An extraordinary way of benefit begetting an extraordinary diligence. And hence proceeds that maladie in the body of a state, which inclines it so totally to one side: that all injuries how grosse soever are connived at from one neighbour; while from another the least shadow of offence begets mortall warre. But if these pensions bee receiv'd with approbation of the King, certainly as they are lawfull, so likewise are they lesse dangerous: for then the state is armed against the advice of such, whom they know to leane to one side: The crookednesse of

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counſell being eaſily diſcern'd, when not bouſterd up with ſimulation of integritie.

And queſtionleſſe the diſtribution of theſe Crownes like a dangerous poiſon diſperſt it in ſome principall veines of a body, infected the whole Court. And though perhaps the ſecret reſolutions of the King and ſtate were not betray'd to him; yet was his intelligence larger than convenient for ſo cunning a neighbour: Who out of ſlight and triviall occurrences, ſuch as were but Chamber talke, could gueſſe at the moſt reſerv'd counſels. Neither would thoſe ſo apparent affronts offer'd by him afterward, have beene ſo patiently diſſembled; eſpecially the King knowing him a timerous Prince, and who trembled at the very thought of a returne of the *Engliſh* into *France*; had not they whoſe advice was moſt liſtend to, paſſionately excuſed him in every charge the more zealous ſtatiſts layd to him.

But theſe miſchiefes the yeares ſucceeding were guiltie of; for the preſent the King full of joy and treaſure returnd toward *Calice*. And indeed with more then ordinary haſte and caution for feare the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould attempt any thing upon his retreat. But with ſafetie hee both came thither, and ſayld to *Dover*; whence in much pompe he directed his journey to *London*. Upon *Black Heath* the Lord Major and the Aldermen in Scarlet, and five hundred Commoners in murrey receiv'd him, and thence with all oſtentation of triumph conducted him through the Citie to *Weſtminſter*. And perhaps hee gave order the ſolemnitie of his returne ſhould bee more glorious, to ſet off the ſhortneſſe of his ſtay in *France*, and the ſmall or no honour purchaſt there.

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The vulgar for the moſt part valuing the glory of the victories according to the information of the Ballad, and the glittering of the Pageants.

The *French* King, who ever affected the ſubſtance, ſmild at theſe huge ſhadowes: and never quarreld with King *Edward* what pompous titles ſoever he aſſumed in receiving the forementioned ſums of money. Willing that hee ſhould husband his actions of leaſt worth to the greateſt advantage of credit with his people. While hee on the contrary, in all buſineſſes never heeded what judgement opinion gave; and ſo his ends were effected, cared not by what ſordid or humble meanes: Whereupon preſently after the departure of the *Engliſh*, notwithſtanding the many injuries received from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he came to treatie, and ſuddenly to agreement with him: In many points unexpectedly yeelding; onely that hee might revenge himſelfe upon the Count *St. Paul*, for him hee accounted the Conjurer, who by his diſſembling charmes, had raiſd thoſe ſo many and ſo tumultuous ſpirits againſt the Crowne of *France*: And till hee were deſtroyed, King *Lewis* conceiv'd it impoſſible to remaine ſafe from civill or forraigne warre.

It was therefore agreed betweene theſe two Princes that what places had beene wreſted away in the former troubles, ſhould be immediatly reſtored: and which of the two could firſt ſurprize the Count *St. Paul*, ſhould within eight dayes put him to death; or deliver him up to the diſcretion of the other. By which agreement the wretched Lord found how inevitable was his ruine: And conſidering the vanitie of any hope that might perſwade to defend himſelfe againſt ſo potent

enemies

enemies he enterd into discourse with his owne feares, to which he might make his addresse with more probabilitie of safetie. And knowing the immoveable resolutions of King *Lewys*, and how impossible it was to deceive a Prince so cunning in the Art; he resolv'd to make tryall of the Duke. Who disdainefully receiv'd the first offers of his service, but in the end, overcome by importunitie hee granted him safe conduct. Relying on which he poasted to him, but soone found his ruine by the want of that faith, which himselfe had never observ'd.

For the Duke notwithstanding the safe conduct, gave command hee should be impriſon'd, and not long after deliver'd him up to the *French* King. Who caus'd processe to bee made against him; certaine Letters written to King *Edward* and by him deliver'd to King *Lewys*, being the chiefe articles of accusation, by which hee was condemn'd: and for which not long after he lost his heade. Hee imbraced death with much resolution, onely somewhat astonisht to meet it upon a Scaffold, the manner, not the thing it selfe amazing him. But the officiousnesse of the King in delivery of those papers to the condemnation of his wives Uncle, and a confederate was certainly treacherous and ignoble, and makes his memory sound harsh in the eare of any worthy mind.

And indeede he was on the sudden become so passionate a lover of a reconcil'd enemy, and so passionate an enemy of his late friends. That when he understood of the treatie of peace and Marriage betweene the *French* King and the Duke, hee sent over Sir *Thomas Montgomery* with instructions

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if possible to breake it off. Who urged that the Duke should not bee admitted to treate of himselfe, but onely as mention'd in the King his Masters peace: that if the Duke refused to treate in that manner, and the King any way suspected his owne strength, his Master would the next Summer crosse the Seas and joyne his forces with him: Conditionally that halfe the wages of his Army might bee defraid by the *French*, for whose service the warre was to be undertaken; and that he might be allowed fiftie thousand crownes annually in respect his losse would amount to the value, by reason the *English* Woolls at *Callice* could during that time have no vent into the Netherlands. To such an over officious friendship did his new malice to *Burgundie*, and the counsaile of King *Lewys* his great pensioners incline him; that hee voluntarily offer'd without respect of glory or hope of profit, to fight like a journeyman for a Prince, whose growth in power could not bee but most unsafe even to him, and dangerous to his kingdome.

This embassie King *Lewys* receiv'd with apparence of much content, congratulating the felicitie of his owne arts, that had brought the King to so obsequious a respect: but he no way desired to see him any more in *France*, especially not to pay for his presence, whose absence hee had lately bought so deerely. Hee therefore return'd many thankes for the offer'd favour; but withall shewed how much too late it came, in regard the truce was already concluded betweene him and the Duke: from which being now sworne to it, he could recede neither in honour nor religion. But that the world might understand how scrupulous he

he had beene in preſervation of the King of *Englands* reputation; the preſent truce varyed not in one point from that ſworne at *Picquinie*: except onely that the Duke was admitted to article for himſelfe apart: which indeed was the maine thing the King endeavoured to have prevented; ſince by articling apart, the Duke ſhowed his independance; and that the *Engliſh* by their armes, had no way advanced his buſineſſe.

But that this anſwer might indanger no miſinterpretation he liberally preſented the Embaſſador, and ſent over with him the two hoſtages, the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheiney*. For King *Lewys* continued ſtill in much caution to offend the King, leaſt perhaps he and the Duke of *Burgundy*, though now aſunder, might like a limbe broken and ſet againe, knit the faſter. Hee was therefore diligent to increaſe every day new diſcontents betweene them, and to preſerve the *Engliſh*, in their amity firme upon any termes: knowing the Duke by no pollicy ever to be reduced to a perfect friendſhip. And ſo farre had his cunning and penſions prevailed, that nothing was more in the vote of the *Engliſh*; then to preſerve King *Lewys* ſafe in his eſtate at home, and noble in reputation with us. But among all the ties which kept the King ſureſt to him, the hope of marrying the Dolphin with his Daughter; and this way at leaſt to ſettle the Crowne of *France* in his Poſterity, moſt prevailed. Of the reality of which article, the *French* permitted not the ſmalleſt occaſion to be given for ſuſpicion.

This intention of entering into warre with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being croſt: the unquiet Nature of ſome Princes, ever affecting to beget trou-

ble to themselves, that the King might feele no perfect rest, receives the former jealousie concerning the Earle of *Richmond*. But why the reducing him into this powre, should so much perplex the state is beyond reach; unlesse it were a divination of future accidents, which instructed the Kings feares to expect danger from him: who neither in the point of justice nor strength was for the present considerable. For if we looke upon his faction at home, the civill warres had ruin'd them so low, that no person of authority had any relation to him, except the Lord *Stanley*: who being Father in law to him might perhaps wish his fortunes well, but bore a most faithfull mind to the King, in whose especiall favour he continued to the last: And if we consider him as his neerenesse in blood to King *Lewys* might render him formidable from abroad: Certainely there was no just ground for suspicion: The *French* being so lately entered into a particular amity with *England*, and never having afforded either comfort or countenance to the young Earles exile. Then for any claime to the Crowne, the King could not feare him, his title being of so impure and base a mettall, it could no way indure the touch. His Mother, by whom onely he could pretend, heire indeed of the house of *Somerset*, but not of *Lancaster*, in regard the streame of this descent was poisoned in the very Spring: For *John* of *Gaunt* having entertained an affection to *Katherine* Daughter of Sir *Paine de Ruet*, during her attendance on the Lady *Blanch* his first wife: in the life time of his second wife Lady *Constance*, his affection grew into a neerer familiarity, and so happy was he, that his familiarity proved not barren: his Mistris

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(for to what a servitude doth lust betray a sinner!) making him Father of three Sonnes, and a Daughter. The Duke zealous to reward any that had so well deserved, marryed his bedfellow to Sir *Otes Swinford*, and either through impotency or conscience afterward refrained her company. Some yeares past (she having buryed her Knight, and he his Dutchesse) in gratitude to her former merits being now grown very old, he tooke her againe to his bed, with the lawfull ceremonies of the Church: And thus his ancient Concubin became his new Bride. Having righted her honour, to leave no monument of their sin to posterity, he laboured the ligitimation of the children: and so farre in the time of *Richard* the second, prevailed, that both the sentence of the Church and Parliament pronounced them lawfully enabled to inherit the Lands of their Father, in case his issue by his former wives should faile. The eldest Son of the three, thus ligitimated, was *John* created Earle of *Sommerset*, Father of *John* Duke of *Sommerset*, whose sole Daughter and heire *Margaret*, marryed *Edmond* of *Haddam*, Earle of *Richmond*, whose Sonne *Henry* was now the marke at which all the arrowes of the Kings suspicion aymed.

By this Pedegree, to the eye at first appeares some dawning of a title, but certainely it is a false light, such as oftentimes deceives the credulous traveller. For the legitimation by the Church was to take away as much of scandall, as possibly, from the children: and a dispensation onely for the benefit of the bastards, without prejudice to the right of any other. For these bastards were not of the common nature, such as after marryage may make

legitimate: being not Naturall but Spurious; begot in adultery on the one side, and consequently incapable of any benefit by dispensation. Adde to this that not being of the whole blood (according to the common Law of *England*) the house of *Somerset* was farther of from inheriting any title from King *Henry* the sixt, then the most remote of the line of *Yorke*. Lastly, in the very legitimation it selfe, the children were onely made capable to inherit the estate of their Father. The Crowne being never mentioned: and for the Dutchy of *Lancaster* they could not pretend, that being the inheritance of the Lady *Blanch* his first wife, from whom they no way descended, Neither were the Princes of the house of *Somerset* ever numberd among the *Plantaginets*, or ever obtained so much as to be declared heires apparent, if *Henry* the sixt, and his Son Prince *Edward* should extinguish without issue. As *Mortimer* had got to be before in the raigne of *Richard* the second, and *Delapole* after, during the usurpation of *Richard* the third. And if there were any cause of suspicion from the branches of that Family; then was the Duke of *Buckingham*, much more to be feared: Who was by his Mother heire of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, and himselfe a Prince, mighty in descent otherwaies from the Crowne, as being heire likewise of *Thomas* Duke of *Gloucester*, younger Son to *Edward* the third. Moreover in the faction of a great kindred, and dependancy of a multitude of tennants, farre more to be suspected: The [illegible] exild Lord, who claiming by his Mother, could during her life have no colour of a Title.

But the King found the wound of this jealousie ranckle

ranckle in him, and nothing but *Richmonds* apprehenſion to heale it. He therefore moſt earneſtly ſollicited the Duke of *Brittaine*, by his Embaſſadors to returne him into *England* Their motives were, the much good will the Duke owed their Maſter, who never would forſake his protection; though ſeverall wayes and at ſeverall times moſt importunately provoked. That he had in anſwer to the *French* requeſts to that purpoſe proteſted; that if the Duke were any way endangerd by them, perſonally to croſſe the ſeas, and make the quarrell the ſame, as if his owne kingdome were invaded. Then for the innocency of the Kings intentions toward the Earle; they affirmed that ſo far from malice the deſire to have him returnd into *England* was, that it meerely tended to his preſent ſafety and after honour. In regard his Majeſty would not onely reſtore him to the poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, but endeare him in a neerer tye, even by the marryage of one of his owne daughters to him, and this bleſſed way abſolutely to roote up all the ancient rancor betweene the houſes of *Yorke* and *Sommerſet*. This was the pretention, which though the King no way intended, yet the Almighty afterward made good: to inſtruct after times, that the deepe miſteries of cunning Princes are meere illuſions compared with true wiſedome; and the diſpoſition of kingdomes is the worke of Heaven.

By this ſimulation and tender of a large ſum of money (for the King had learnt how to traffique by example of King *Lewys*,) the poore Earle of *Richmond* was delivered up to the Embaſſadours; and immediately by them conveyd to St. *Malos*, the next haven Towne, where inſtant pre-

parations were made for his tranſportation into *England*. Here fortune, or what is leſſe uncertaine, the wind tooke compaſſion on his affliction (for the very imagination of the ruine he was betrayd to, had throwne him into a violent Feaver) and hindred the Embaſſadours from taking ſhippe. Where while they remaind joyfull in the ſucceſſe of their undertaking, *Peter Landois* Treaſurer to the Duke, in apparence of a ceremonious viſit, but indeede to contrive the Earles eſcape moſt officiouſly came to them. For no ſooner had the Duke given up this innocent victim to be ſacrific'd, but ſome of the Court, ſenſible of the Law of Nations and their Maſters reputation, to himſelfe related the injury and diſhonour of this action. And ſo farre aggravated the perpetuall infamy that would cloud his fame by ſelling his gueſt to whom he had promiſt ſafetie and protection; that the Duke repented the delivery of him, and adviſed *Landois*, by ſome art to regaine him.

And indeede *Landois* undertooke the imployment readily, willing perhaps to gaine the honour of doing one good deed among the multitude of his miſchiefes: and likewiſe to revenge himſelfe upon the evill memory of the Embaſſadors, who had forgot by their mony to make him an inſtrument in affecting this treaſon. This villaine (for hee was fitteſt for the buſineſſe) ſo ordered the matter, that while hee entertaind the Embaſſadors in a moſt ſerious diſcourſe, the Earle was carried into Sanctuary; and no notice given them till he was beyond their reach. Which when they underſtood, finding themſelves defrauded of ſo great a bargaine, and even of the money

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layd out in the purchaſe: indignation tranſported them into bitter language againſt *Landois*. But he excuſed himſelfe of the practiſe, and layd the whole fault of the misfortune upon their negligence: deſiring that their careleſneſſe in looſing a prey, might not be caſt as a crime upon that reſpect he had ſhewed them in his viſit. And when the Embaſſadors importun'd him by his authoritie to force the Earle from the place; hee pretended religion to the Sanctuary, which if he ſhould out of honour to the *Engliſh* but offer to violate; ſo great was the veneration the people hold it in, that they would tumultuouſly riſe to prevent ſo bold a ſacrilege. Hee adviſd them therefore to give over this game loſt paſt play; and prepare their excuſe as cunning as poſſible to ſatisfie their King. And for his part, to ſhow the zeale hee bore to the affaires of *England*, hee would take ſuch order (and he knew it would ſtand with the approbation of his Maſter) that the Sanctuary ſhould be ſeverely guarded; whence if the Earle endeavourd an eſcape it ſhould be into ſome place of ſafetie, where hee ſhould be ſtrictly impriſond, till the King of *England* were pleaſed otherwiſe to diſpoſe of him. With this plauſible diſcourſe *Landois* left the Embaſſadours to ſaile over, whom the winde, now too late, ſerv'd to carry backe. But the King, notwithſtanding the faireſt colours they could lay upon the buſineſſe, and promiſe on the Dukes part to keepe the Earle ſafe from eſcape, caſt upon them a lower looke. Misfortune to a Miniſter of ſtate procuring for the moſt part as much diſgrace, as if he had beene perfidious in the practiſe.

Fruſtrated of his hope to gaine *Richmond* into his

his power, but yet in part freed of all danger threatning from him, the King to give a luſtre to that peace he had ſetled, began to addict himſelfe to a profuſe hoſpitality: A magnificent way of greatneſſe, in which the Monarchs of this Kingdome have in all ages exceeded, all the Princes of *Europe*. And upon all ſolemne times, when ceſſation from labour licenceth the vulgar to admire the glorious outſide of a ſtate, he ſhowed a particular bravery to the eye: by preſenting as well martiall exerciſes in Iuſts, Tiltings, Turnaments, Barriers and the like, as the ſofter entertainements of wit, full of an elegant curioſity for that time, ſubject to too much tumult and noyſe to give birth to the beſt inventions. But of all ſolemnities the feaſt of Saint *George*, Patron of the nobleſt Order of the World, was celebrated with moſt ſplendor and pompe. Of which our common Cronicles are ſo liberall in the relation, that they ſpare my pen the labour.

Among theſe delicacies of peace, the King forgot not to pleaſe his luſt (the baſtard of an idle ſecurity;) And indeed impoſſible almoſt it was, that his appetite flatter'd daily with all the curioſities of luxury, ſhould containe it ſelfe ſeverely within the bounds of modeſty. For as by his other actions wee may judge, how little trouble his conſcience put him to, and therefore not eaſie to be frighted from ſinne by Religion: ſo on the part of his body, they who familiarly knew him affirme) that never man was framed by Nature more apt to the exerciſe of love, and whom amorous Courtſhip did leſſe miſſebecome. But Almighty God tooke not his naturall proneneſſe to luſt, for an excuſe, but ſeverely puniſht him in

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his Sonnes: Who were both diſpoſſeſt of the Kingdome and their lives by their unnaturall Vncle: There being ſo much apparence of right in the Vſurper by their Fathers incontenency, that even an Act of Parlament was made to baſtardize them. And this ſad judgement was provoked by the diſorder of his luſt: to which how can wee wonder if ſo eaſily he declin'd, ſince Majeſty ſeldome admits of any inſtructions to a ſevere correction of the appetite? Ambition to extend their dominions, hath beene ever recorded the nobleſt vertue in Princes: Who to leſſen a neighbor ſtate too mighty in the growth of Empire, or in hope to conquer ſome territory, to which the conveniency, not the juſtice makes good the title; without ſcruple hazard large armies of their people: And confidently boaſt the victory, though the warre were grounded upon injuſtice.

While King *Edward* lived at home glorious in his quiet, this doctrine was liſtened to by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, in following which he made ſo many injurious and unfortunate attempts. For after his peace concluded with *France*, he directed his whole power to the deſtruction of the Duke of *Lorraine*. A Prince who in favour of King *Lewys*, to whoſe fortune he had devoted his ſervice, defied the Duke of *Burgundy*, when he lay at the ſiege of *Nuze*. And though this deſigne againſt *Lorraine*, might carry with it all probability of ſucceſſe; conſidering the narrowneſſe of the Dutchy: Yet as it ought in judgment to have beene weighed with the ſupports of *France* and other confederates in *Germany*, it might beare a face of much more difficulty. For it had not onely beene a perpetuall diſhonour to King *Lewys*, but even a diſ-

advantage to his affaires, to permit a free ſcope of ſo neare an adjoyning countrey to the Duke of *Burgundie*: whom for the preſent a blind revenge tranſported beyond reaſon, and made him warre with all crueltie, not onely againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, where the victory might in ſome meaſure recompence the coſt; but againſt the *Switzers*, becauſe they had ſided with *Lorrain*, and made ſome irruption into the territories of the *Burgonian*. The *Switzers*, a poore people, unknowne to the world, confin'd to a miſerable life among their cold and barren mountaines: onely proud in opinion they had of their libertie, which was rather maintain'd by the fortune of the countrey inacceſſible almoſt to an invading army, then by the valour of the people. Againſt theſe he led his forces, rejecting all thoſe ſubmiſſe and deprecatory Embaſſies ſent by them, and that free acknowledgement of their poverty, when they proteſted all the wealth of their Countrey ſum'd up to the higheſt value, would not be able to buy the Spurres and Bridle-bits in his Campe. Fortune in the beginning of this enterpriſe flatter'd him to a continuance of the warre with proſperous ſucceſſe, intending by that glorious baite onely to angle him to deſtruction. For ſoone the chance of warre turn'd, and in three battailes in one yeare the unfortunate Duke was overthrowne: In the laſt of which fought before *Nancy*, hee was ſlaine. A Prince who by his alliance, and continuall intercourſe of buſineſſe, had much relation to the *Engliſh*: Whoſe honour and recovery of whoſe large territories in *France*, hee certainly from his heart deſired. And when he invited King *Edward* into *France* to that purpoſe, and there fail'd him

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of his promiſt ſuccours, it proceeded doubtleſſe not from any underhand practiſe or remiſſeneſſe in the undertaking; but onely by the misfortune of his Armie, ſomewhat broken not long before at the ſiege of *Nuze*. He was therefore a friend to us, if an ambitious man be ſayd a friend to any: or rather ſo great an enemy to *Lewys* of *France* that he loved us onely in oppoſition; and deſired our proſperitie, becauſe it could not grow without ruine to the *French*. How juſt a governor hee was in peace appertaines little to our knowledge, and the world had little leaſure to conſider; hee was ſo everlaſtingly in Armes: In which as hee ſhewed great courage and judgement, ſo likewiſe did hee commit much injuſtice. And who will examine what licence warre gives to injury, and how it impoſeth almoſt neceſſitie of doing wrong, may in ſome ſort excuſe him. But his being ever in quarrells, into which hee enter'd and continued, as his paſſion, not his reaſon directed him: preſents his ſpirit daring but turbulent, and his valour raſh and inconſiderate, and takes away all pardon from his ſo many errors. The two great blemiſhes upon his memory, are his crueltie at *Granſon* in *Lorrain*, where in cold blood hee cauſed all the inhabitants to be kil'd, the towne being yeelded to his diſcretion: And his perfidiouſneſſe to the Count Saint *Paul* whom notwithſtanding a ſafe conduct hee delivered up to execution into the hands of King *Lewys*. The good men who aſcribe puniſhment to the juſtice of heaven, obſerve that after theſe two crimes his fortune left him, and with diſhonour death overtooke him, when he leaſt expected it. Having at that time in his imaginations ſo many

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and ſo vaſte deſignes, that ſcarce the age and fortune of man had length and power enough to accompliſh them all.

The death of this Prince, having begot ſo much buſineſſe in his life, diverſly affected all the neighbour countries. Generally according to the cuſtome in private families, every ſtate entertain'd it with ſuch a paſſion, as the advantage or diſadvantage appear'd by it to themſelves. Some few out of love to his perſon, hope of marriage with his daughter, or compaſſion of humane accidents griev'd at the report: But moſt expreſt their ſorrow, for the libertie King *Lewys* had attain'd by it, no man living now of power and will to oppoſe him, ſhould hee attempt injury, and offer violence to his weaker neighbours. For King *Edward* was ſo infatuated by his Arts, that hee never ſtartled at this great accident, nor looked how nearely it might concerne his owne ſafetie. So that notwithſtanding hee were daily certified of new undertakings by King *Lewys*, he reſted quiet, and gave free reines to his injurious ambition. Who ſooneas he underſtood of the death of Duke *Charles*, and perceived how open his countries lay to an invader: Pretended the Dutchy of *Burgundy* for want of heires male devolved backe to the Crowne of *France*, and by the armes of the Duke of *Lorrain* without further diſpute tooke it in: In the meane time himſelfe ſeizing upon all *Picardie*, which for many yeares had remain'd in poſſeſſion of Dukes *Philip* and *Charles*. And that he might have yet more occaſion of quarrell with an unſetled Lady unable to withſtand his oppoſition; he ſummond the Princeſſe *Mary* Dutches of *Burgundy* to come in perſon into *France* to doe homage

mage for the Countie of *Flanders*, and her other eſtates held in chiefe of that Crowne.

But the knowing how unſafe it was to yeeld her perſon up to a Prince who made his advantage of every opportunitie, delaid the homage, and ſtood upon her guard as ſtrongly, as in ſo diſorder'd a Countrey was poſſible. For though ſhee were Lady of many opulent and mightie Provinces, able if not to offend yet to defend themſelves againſt the world; yet were the people ſtubborne and prone to rebellion, and who by the weakeneſſe of ſome of their Princes heretofore, had purchaſt to themſelfe too large immunities. And indeed ſcarce any towne, but had or pretended to have ſuch prerogatives, as debaſed all authoritie of government: Which upon every change in ſtate they received, and endeavor'd if poſſible to redeeme themſelves from ſubjection. And this hope, more then ever, now poſſeſt them, conſidering the unexperience both of the youth and ſex of her that ruled: ſo that by apparence of their churliſh carriage to the Dutcheſſe, and ſmall preparations againſt King *Lewys*, who every day ſurpriz'd ſome place of other; they rather deſir'd to be expoſed a prey to an inſolent and cruell enemy, then indure the milde government of their lawfull Princeſſe. Shee therefore ſent Embaſſadours to implore ayd of King *Edward*, and declared to him the urgencie of her preſent neceſſities. Who ſhowed, that their Princeſſe the greateſt inheretrix of the world, borne to a large and rich territory; was at the preſent in a condition beneath the pooreſt ſubject that enjoyd but libertie: Being detain'd captive by the hands, which made reſtraint farre more unſupportable

of her owne inſolent rebells. Her delivery concern'd the King of *England* in generall as a Prince, and in particular, as a neighbour and an alley. Her tumultuous ſubjects, who had dared to attempt and act this treaſon, tooke courage from the *French* Kings declared enmitie. An injurious proceeding in a Prince againſt a neighbour, which juſtly provokes all Chriſtendome to unite in her defence, and puniſh ſo barbarous a proceeding in him. That the ancient league obſerv'd with ſo much Religion betweene *England* and the Low Countries, particularly did require his Majeſties preſent ayd; and a conſideration of what might happen perhaps in his owne poſteritie in the ſame nature, did invite him to doe favours, as his might challenge to receive them hereafter. That even in the pollitique diſcretion of government it was conceiv'd that nearely it concernd the ſtate of *England* to provide againſt ſo dangerous an addition of dominion to the *French*: Conſidering King *Lewys* had already moſt injuriouſly wreſted away not onely *Peronne Mountdidier Tournay* and all the reſt of *Picardie* ſold heretofore to Duke *Phillip*: But ſeizd even upon *Burgundy* the inheritance of their Princeſs. And what expreſſeth the inhumanitie of the tyrants, and the hated malice of his intentions, ſommons her at this preſent to do homage perſonally for *Flanders* and her other territories. Which ſommons if ſhee obeyes; ſhe certainly betrayes her ſelfe into an everlaſting captivitie or to a neceſſitie to ſurrender a large part of her inheritance for redemption: And if ſhee refuſeth, ſhee indangers her whole eſtate to the ſurprize of a mercileſſe enemy, who never wanted the pretence of juſtice to juſtifie ſpoile and rapine. They farther urged how their Princeſſe was not onely in her

her perſon reſtrain'd by her owne ſubjects but had not ſo much as apparence of any army in the field to oppoſe the invader. The Souldier being abſolutely deſtroyd in the former unfortunate battells fought by her father in *Lorrain*: And the faith of all the Commanders who remained, bought up by King *Lewys*, and turn'd wholly *French*, with ſurrender of the Townes and Forts under their government. And all hope of any Levies at home vaine and falſe, the Commons by practiſe of the *French* King every where in tumult: and the few who wiſht well to their Princeſſe affaires, either not daring to declare themſelves, or ſuffering death or impriſonment for their faith. They concluded with intreatie that the King would engage his armes in ſo iuſt a quarrell, which as it could not bee but moſt honorable to his name and no way unprofitable, ſo likewiſe would it caſt a perpetuall obligation upon their Princeſſe, and devote her power hereafter to his ſervice.

This Embaſſie carried with it every way ſo much iuſtice, that it begot a generall approbation. For the opinion was, that *England* never had ſo faire an opportunitie to winne honour to the nation, relieve an oppreſt Princeſſe, checke an inſolent and unfaithfull neighbour, and provide for its owne ſafetie. So that in the Court no perſon of honour, not corrupted with the *French* penſion, but paſſionately deſired the undertaking: and thought it neceſſarie in every point, to begin this defenſive warre. But the King in ſo deepe a lethargie that no danger could wake him, nor touch of honour make him ſenſible, heard this with a faire reſpect, and diſmiſt the Embaſſadors with ſome faint comfort. And though hee could

not perceive what a cloud it would bee upon his reputation to permit so foule an injury to the young Princesse, and sit still: yet hee resolved to listen to the safer counsailes of peace, and beleeve (how improbable soever) the many protestations of King *Lewys*.

Who soone as hee understood of these addresses to *England*, which at the very first hee expected, dispatcht his Embassadors to undoe whatsoever had beene wrought by the former sollicitation. And whereas the Dutchesse of *Burgundie* perswaded this warre by the arguments of honour and a generous pittie: Hee disswaded it, by menacing an absolute breach of the peace sworne at *Pigniie* whereby the King should bee frustrated of his tribute, and the so mightie marriage of his daughter. Hee showed farther how it was not onely against the so neare amitie begun and likely to continue betweene them and their posteritie, but even against the custome of common confederacies, to hinder a neighbour Prince in league, when hee onely attempted the recovery of his owne right. And if the truth of his actions were layd open to the world, it would appeare the re-assumption of those townes into the power of *France*, what interpretation soever they might suffer among the ignorant or malicious, was but an act of justice. Since those many places in *Picardie* were no way of right belonging to Duke *Charles*, but permitted him onely, to avoyd the continuance of warre: which was notorious to any man who would but call to memory, how they were morgaged to Duke *Philip*. The absolute alienation of them from the Crowne having never beene eyther in the will or power of any

French King. Then for the Dutchy of *Burgundie*, the originall grant and the common practiſe in *French* would manifeſt, that it onely was conferd upon the heires male: which fayling in the preſent Dutcheſſe implyes a returne of it backe to the Crowne whence it paſt at firſt by an inconſiderate tranſaction. Laſtly that his taking armes was onely to recover and juſtifie his right, and reduce the Princeſſe *Mary* to performe her homage, which never was denyed by any Earle of *Flanders*. And if there bee any infidelitie or tumult among her ſubjects; ſhee ought either to blame the evill diſpoſition of her people to rebellion, or the misfortune of her owne government.

This was the effect of King *Lewys* his anſwer at firſt, which the King was joyfull to have divulged, becauſe it gave his ſlowneſſe to action, a ſpacious ſhow of juſtice and diſcretion. But the reliefe of the oppreſt Lady grew ſo much into the vote of the Commonaltie, and even the better ſort of people bended ſo much to compaſſion, that the *French* began to ſuſpect the King might be induced to undertake her protection. Whereupon new Embaſſadours came with new inſtructions ſomething more plauſible then the former, in which they were to keepe the King upon any termes at home: Theſe offerd to his Majeſtie a full relation of King *Lewys* his proceedings hitherto; with promiſe to referre it wholly to him, if any violence had beene by the licence of warre committed. That their Maſters ayme was ſo far from injury, that hee would ſubmit to indifferent judgement all the paſſages in this quarrell: and bind himſelfe to any reſtitution, the King of *England*

land should order. For all his desire these Armes was onely the reduction of his owne, and maintenance of the prerogatives of the Crowne of *France*. And ever among these excuses he mingled some discourse concerning the Dolphin, his so forward growth, and the great expectation of him: something too of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the joy all *France* conceiv'd of the future marriage. Neither was the ceremony of paying the tribute ever omitted at the day, nor the great Lords forgotten to be presented with their precious, and something too of addition to increase their diligence.

By these Arts hee won time, a merchandize hee then traffiqu'd for, and the purchase of which so nearely concern'd his present designe: For it was his, and certainly a pollitique course, to send often and still severall Embassadors: who, if in their overtures they were contradictory, layd the fault on their instructions, and desired respite, till they had some farther understanding of their Masters intentions: and when any thing new was proposed, they imbraced it intreating onely time to informe the state of *France*. But when by frequent treating the businesse was come oftentimes to necessitie of absolute resolution: then suddenly was the Embassadour recall'd, and some new person sent to supply his place, wholly ignorant, or at least pretending to bee wholly ignorant, of all former passages.

At the length when hee saw there was an impossibilitie, farther to dissemble, by pretending restitution of whatsoever had beene wrested away from the Duchesse: Hee discover'd the trechery of his former carriage, and made propositions advan-

advantageous to the Kings profit. Offering if hee would passe the Seas with a full armie and joyne in the quarrell, to defray halfe the expence of the warre, and never forsake the *English*, untill hee had setled them in possession of *Flanders* and *Brabant*: so that the spoile might bee equally divided betweene the two Kings. In this one overture expresst the deceit of his former purchase, to make which good he tenderd so great a brokage. But the King refused this proposition; Not out of conscience unwilling to enter upon estates to which he had no title: Nor greatnesse of spirit, disdaining to make advantage of the misfortune of a Lady oppresst by an over-potent neighbour, and forsaken by an ungratefull and disobedient people: But onely out of consideration of the difficultie. Since the townes were of strength to make resistance against the most powerfull Army that every Fort would require much time & charge in the gayning: and if gain'd would prove as costly and difficult to keepe: The people though naturally prone to innovasion, and upon the slightest grounds ready to rebell; yet by no Art to bee so tamed, as to indure the yoake of a stranger. And if the conquest was still to be made good by Garrisons of *English*, the natives being both unruly and unfaithfull: It would draw much blood and treasure from *England*, and returne neither honour nor profit. Nevertheless the King offer'd immediatly to declare himself in common league against the Dutchesse, and to leade over an Army royall into her territories, promising to share in all future danger if hee might be admitted to share in what was already conquerd. But that the *French* denyed as loath ever to quit possession: yet never

never ſo peremptorily refuſed any propoſition, as to let the *Engliſh*, perſwaded by deſpaire, to enter into new counſailes; even in their denyalls leaving ſome way open to expectation.

During this time ſpun out to the utmoſt length by theſe tedious negotiations, the *French* effected their ends and almoſt undid the afflicted Princeſſe. Who left no way untried that might leade her into a perfect friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and engage their armes to her defence. Among the reſt ſhe tryed one which being ſingular in the event deſerves a particular obſervation. Either by her commiſſion, or premiſſion, a motion was made of a marriage betweene her, and *George* Duke of *Clarence* who had lately buried his Lady. By which very overture ſhee doubted not but the King ambitious of ſo ample a fortune for his brother, would runne into her quarrell. But, as ſometimes Phiſicke miſapplyed, it wrought a contrary effect, and with other circumſtances procured his ruine. For he having by the levitie of his actions weakned his reputation with the world in generall, and particularly drawne a hatred from the Queenes kindred upon him, the King and the Duke of *Gloceſter* likewiſe, having him eyther in contempt or jealouſie, ſtood in a manner alone. So that the very firſt whiſpers of this marriage were heard with emulation by ſome, with ſcorne by others, and with diſlike by all. Which gave occaſion that his deſtruction was ſuddenly plotted, and almoſt as ſuddenly executed. For the King, although he owed his reſtitution to the Crowne when he expel'd from *England*, to the Dukes revolt from *Warwick*; yet he remembred more perfectly the unnaturalneſſe of his firſt rebellion:

And

And howsoever hee showed outwardly all the arguments of a reconcil'd brother, yet certainly the memory of the injury at first remaind deepely imprinted in his minde. So that *Clarence* by his after service never regain'd that place in the Kings heart, which his former disloyaltie had forfeited. This he perceiv'd and repind against, and the King understanding that hee resented the truth, hated him yet the more: And so farre grew this hatred, that no discourse was more harsh to the Kings eare then that of *Clarences* marriage with the heire of *Burgundie*: By which it was suspected he being inabled with power might hereafter prepare for revenge. For according to the disposition of man he saw all his actions in a flattering glasse: Looking upon his revolt from his brother, as on an errour of seduced youth: and on his returne back, as on so great a merit, that it lay scarce in the Kings power to recompence: The King enjoying by it all the greatnesse he possest.

Richard Duke of *Glocester* upon whose nature and friendship he built most, deceived him most. For *Glocester* who studied nothing but his owne purposes, and cared not by what violence all obstacles of nature and friendship were removed, so the way were plain'd to his ambition, endeavord to adde more poison to their discontent: Knowing bad intentions never receive growth but from mischiefe. Hee therefore perswaded him to bee sensible of the Kings neglect, and boldly to expresse his sufferance: A silent patience being in a subiect loyaltie, but in a Kings brother cowardize. While on the other side he whisper'd the danger of *Clarence* his spirit apt to receive any discontent, and wanting onely power to seeke unlawfull remedies.

medies. Whatsoever counsaile came from him receiv'd by the King with more attention and beleefe, in regard of his great judgement, and professions of love to his brothers. And indeede *Gloecester* much disdain'd the advancement of *Clarence* this way, not that hee had any particular ground for malice, but onely that he hated any man, and especially a brother, should have the start of him in fortune.

But the Queene and her kindred shallower in their spleene, spoke loud against him: while *Gloecester* deepe in mischiefe was not heard to murmur. For they suggested continually to the King with what contempt they were intreated by *Clarence*; how all their honours were mentioned as mockeries: As if the King wanted power to conferre his favours according to the discretion of his owne bountie. They urged the memory of his rebellion at his first marriage with *Warwicks* daughter, and the much more danger of his intentions in affecting so much greatnesse in the second. And so farre by aggravations of every slight errour wrought that the King was willing to have his brother suffer; but onely wanted some offence capitall enough, to make his death appeare an act of necessitie and iustice, not of plot and malice.

It is generally receiv'd among the vulgar, and wants not the approbation of some Cronicles, that the chiefe ground of the Kings assent to his death was the misinterpretation of a propheſie: Which foretold that one, the first letter of whose name was *G*, should usurpe the Kingdome and dispossesse King *Edwards* Children. Of which there is much of probabilitie; however by his

other

other actions I ſhould not judge the King eaſie to beleeve in ſuch vanities. For credulitie in that nature, falls for the moſt part upon weake minds, as thoſe of women and children: or upon the timerous, whoſe apprehenſions are ſoftned to receive every ſlight impreſſion: or upon the overzealous, whom an evill regulated pietie bends to ſuperſtition. And with theſe three the King had no participation in honour. Yet this ſerv'd for the preſent, and carried with him a ſtrong accuſation againſt the Duke: for this propheſie was alledged to be ſpoken by ſome of his ſervants, who by Negromancy had underſtood this from the Devill: Which with other circumſtances ſerv'd to haſten the King in this foule miſchiefe.

The Duke was in *Ireland*, the Countrey that gave him birth, during the time of theſe contrivances, nothing ſuſpecting any deſigne againſt himſelfe. Vpon his returne to the Court hee underſtood that *Thomas Burdet* of *Arrow* in the Countie of *Warwicke* Eſquire, who ever was dependant upon him and ranne his fortune, had beene in his abſence apprehended, indighted, arraign'd and executed all in the compaſſe of two dayes. The crime upon which his accuſation was principally grounded, were inconſiderate words by which upon report that white Bucke was killd as the King was hunting in his Parke, hee wiſht the head and hornes and all in the Kings belly, whereas indeed he wiſht it onely in his belly who counſaild the King to kill it. With this accuſation were mingled many other of poiſoning, ſorceries, and inchantments: Crimes which every judicious man eaſily perceiv'd, were onely put in the ſcale like graines, to make his raſh language full

full weight, which otherwiſe would have beene too light to deſerve the ſentence of death. Theſe proceedings *Clarence* reſented, as they were intended, and expoſtulated with the King the injuſtice to his ſervant, and injury to himſelfe. And according to the cuſtome of expoſtulations, his words were bold and diſorderly, and having receiv'd an apparent injury built too much on the right of his cauſe, and provoked the King too far into indignation. So that ſoone after hee was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, where by Act of Parliament attainted, he was ſecretly put to death: the manner, as it is generally receiv'd, was by thruſting his head into a But of Malmeſey, by which he was ſtifled.

In his attainder, according to the forme, are crimes enough to make his death have apparence of juſtice, the execution of which the King ſeem'd rather conſtrain'd to, then to have ſought. For then are reckon'd how the Duke of *Clarence* to bring the preſent government into hatred with the people, and thereby the preſent ſtate into trouble; had not onely in his ſpeeches frequently laid juſtice to the Kings charge in attainting *Thomas Burdet* falſely, convict of many notorious treaſons, but ſubord many of his ſervants and divers others, corrupted with money, to divulge the like ſeditious diſcourſes. That he had ſpread abroad impious rumors that the King dealt by Necromancy, and upon offence againſt ſuch of his ſubjects, whom by order of Law he could not deſtroy, hee was accuſtomed to take away by poyſon. That he had not reſted there, but whereby to advance himſelfe to the Kingdome, and for ever to diſable the King and his poſteritie from the Crowne, had contrary

contrary to truth, nature and Religion, Viper-like deſtroying her who gave him life, publiſht that the King was a baſtard and no way capable to reigne: That to make this his ſo monſtrous ambition more ſucceſſefull and already to begin his uſurpation, he had caus'd many of the Kings ſubjects to bee ſworne upon the moſt bleſſed Sacrament to bee true to him and his heires, without any acceptation of their alleigance: After which ſo ſolemne oathes, hee diſcovered to them his reſolution to right himſelfe and his followers, who had both ſuffer'd by the Kings violent wreſting away their eſtates: And in particular to revenge himſelfe upon the King, who (as hee moſt impiouſly and falſly ſuggeſted) had by art Magicke order'd to conſume him, as a Candle conſumeth in burning. And, what moſt expreſt that treaſon of his deſignes, that he had got out an exemplification under the great Seale of *Henry* the ſixt late King: wherein was ſhewed how by the Parliament it was enacted that if the ſaid *Henry* and *Edward* his ſonne ſhould dye without iſſue male, the kingdome ſhould deſcend upon the Duke of *Clarence* and his heires: Whereby clearely appeared his intention, immediatly to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Crowne, with deſtruction of King *Edward* and his children by pretention of a generall election of the Commonweale. This was the ſumme of his attainder, which wee may well beleeve had not ſo eaſily paſt but by the Kings publike declaring himſelfe, the ſecret working of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the paſſionate urging of the Queenes kindred. But this Attainder hath in it one thing moſt remarkeable, that *Clarence* here falſly was accuſed, by laying baſtardie to the

King, to endeavour poſſeſſion of the Crowne: Which afterward was alledged indeed by *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, to the abſolute diſinheriſon of the Kings Sons. Whereby Gods ſevere judgement manifeſts, how unſafe it is in a Prince, by falſe accuſations to condemne an innocent, or but to aggravate the fault of one leſſe guilty, to the end, that crueltie may be reported an act of juſtice.

The death of this Prince ſudden and extraordinary; begot every where an extraordinary cenſure: the unnaturall ſeverity, taking away all excuſe, even from their diſcourſe, who moſt favour'd the King. At home it was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the manner, it being prodigious to be drowned without water, upon dry ground; and the quality of the perſon: He being the firſt brother to a King in this Country, that ever was attainted. And what increaſed the murmure, a faction appeard at Court triumphing in his ruine, all the accuſations were ſtrangely wreſted, and no matter of fact, ſcarce an intention, proved againſt the ſtate. Whereupon this puniſhment was thought to have beene inflicted upon him for no new attempt: His firſt taking part with *Warwicke*, being his onely crime. For which warre, though ſomewhat againſt nature, he had many examples in *France*, *Spaine*, and other parts of Chriſtendome: Whereas for the death of a younger Brother, upon bare ſuſpition, the King could borrow no precedent neerer then the *Turkiſh* governement. But *Clarence* imagined the prerogative of his birth a ſufficient defence againſt danger, and omitted to fortefie himſelfe with faction: which laid him open to every aſſault of envy.

envy. And becauſe hee had heretofore beene in oppoſition againſt the King, the libertie in cenſuring any defect in government was interpreted a deſire to be in armes agen. Every word of diſtaſte being held criminall in him for whom the King was alienated by his owne diſpoſition, open invectives of the Queenes kindred, and ſecret traines of the Duke of *Gloceſter*: who now began to looke high over all reſpects of nature and religion. Hee was certainly ambitious beyond proportion, which made him ſo attentive to any new counſailes, and of an eaſie nature, which renderd him apt by practiſe to be wrought to miſchiefe. He was a good Maſter, but an uncertaine friend: which delivers him to us to have beene, according to the nature of weake men, ſooner perſwaded by an obſequious flattery, then a free advice. We cannot judge him of any evill nature, onely buſie and inconſtant, thinking it a circumſtance of greatneſſe to be ſtill in action. Hee was too open breſted for the Court; where ſuſpition lookes thorough a man, and diſcovers his reſolutions though in the darke, and lockt up in ſecrecie. But what was his ruine; hee was whether the houſe of *Yorke* or *Lancaſter* prevailed, ſtill ſecond to the Crowne: So that his eye by looking too ſtedfaſtly on the beautie of it became unlawfully enamord: And that being obſervd by the Kings jealouſie, hee ſufferd as if hee actually had ſinned.

While this miſchiefe was ſecretly in contrivance againſt *Clarence*, in the Court appeard no face, but that of jollity and magnificence. For at that time was *Edward* eldeſt ſon to the King (during Chriſtmas, to mingle the ſolemnitie with li-

bertie) inaugurated Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, and Earle of *Chester*; and his younger brother *Richard*, created Duke of *Yorke*. The fate of their honour and their ruine, being ſtill the ſame. At this creation according to the ceremony, many young Lords and Gentlemen of principall name were made Knights of the *Bath* among whom *Brian* chiefe Iuſtice of the Common pleas, and *Littleton*, that learned father of the Lawes are regiſtred.

But the publicke glory of theſe extraordinary pompes, and the wantonneſſe of his private pleaſures, could not be maintaind with the ordinary revenue. Therefore to make good the expence of his owne errours, the King began to looke narrowly into thoſe of his ſubjects: that by this art, in a manner, he might finne upon free coſt. And as it hath beene a certaine obſervation that the moſt delicate and voluptuous Princes have ever beene the heavieſt oppreſſors of the people: *Riot* being a far more laviſh ſpender of the common treaſure, then Warre or magnificence: ſo thoſe parts of the Kings life, which were wantond away with varietie of delights are noted to have bin ſevereſt. But perhaps the ſubject repents not the free gift of the Kingdomes ſubſtance, when hee ſees the returne of it in triumph: but repines if the leaſt part of his contribution, bee the reward of parafites, or perſons to whom fortune not merit gives a growth. And Hiſtorians likewiſe have more leaſure to examine the crimes of Princes, in the ſilence of peace, then in the noyſe of warre: Or elſe Princes want opportunitie to incloſe their thoughts to the ſtudie of private gaine, when the Souldier in a manner layes the wealth of the kingdome

dome open, and makes a common of every mans particular treaſure. For now the King began to cauſe the Poenall Lawes to be put in execution, and wanting higher aimes, to looke downeward into every ſordid way of enriching himſelfe: So that a generall feare poſſeſt the people, that his after government would be both ſharpe and heavie: conſidering the firſt part of it was not without a foule blemiſh in that kind. For in the ſeventh yeare of his raigne hee proceeded againſt many of the wealthieſt Citizens with ſo much ſeveritie that it was repoted tyranny. The chiefe of them were Sr. *Thomas Cooke*, Sr. *John Plumer*, Knights, *Humphrey Hewward* and other Aldermen: And their crime in their having given aſſiſtance to King *Henry*. Which conſidering the circumſtance of things could hardly beare any capitall accuſation had it beene clearely proved: but againſt theſe men there was no teſtimony, but what was forc'd with torture; and even that teſtimony, not high enough to bring them to the barre; yet the King commanded them to be arraigned of high treaſon at *Guild Hall*; and withall expreſt an earneſt deſire that upon any tearmes they might bee found guiltie: Their wealth being the principall witneſſe that gave evidence againſt their lives. But the Iurie well directed by Sir *John Marckham* Knight, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, acquit them of their treaſon. Which nevertheleſſe releaſt them not, their eſtates however found guiltie, and the greateſt part eſcheated to the King. VVith the offenders the Iudge was condemn'd, and becauſe hee prefer'd his integritie before a ſevere command, made forfeiture of his dignitie.

The memory of theſe carriages heretofore in a

buſineſſe that concern'd the life of man reputed innocent, drew the world into much feare that hee would now decline to rigour. Neither was the King totally excuſed, although this cruell avarice was laid to the Queene: who having a numerous iſſue and kindred, by favour raiſd up to the higheſt titles; was almoſt neceſſitated, for ſupportance of their honours, to wrack the Kingdome. And happily the univerſall malice that waited on her and hers, ſerv'd well for the King: They being as a ſcreene betweene him, and the unwholeſome ayre of envie: which otherwiſe might have endangerd his reputation with the people.

From this rugged way hee was ſoone diverted by neceſſitie to looke abroad, and perhaps by the gentleneſſe of his nature, or repentance of his former ſeveritie. For the face of the world adjoyning began on the ſudden to change, and while the Kings of *England* and *France*, were dividing the territories of the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundie*: a third ſtept in, and got poſſeſſion of her and her rich countrey. *Maximilian*, Arch Duke of *Auſtria*, ſonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, entertain'd heretofore politckly by Duke *Charles* was now ſeriouſly invited to this marriage. For the Lady diſpairing to receive ſuccours from the *Engliſh*, to the affection of whom ſhe was perhaps inclined by the neighbour-hood of the countrey, and perſwaſion of the Dutcheſſe *Dowager* whom deſervedly ſhee much honourd, condeſcended in the end to the deſire of her ſubjects: who ever labord to marry her to ſome Prince of *Germany*, in regard of the neareneſſe in language and concordance in diſpoſitions. And although the hereditarie

tarie countries of this Prince lying farre remote, were unlike to bee any ſupport to her weakned ſtate: yet conſidering him as ſonne to the Emperour and in probabilitie like to ſucceede (for in an elective Kingdome ſcarce ever is the heire put by, if equally deſerving) he might appeare neceſſary to her preſent affaires. For he was young, of a noble ſpirit, ſtrong and healthfull in conſtitution, bold in any attempt of honour, and what wonne upon the affections of the Low countreymen extraordinary affable and courteous. I know both his actions and the hiſtories of that time deliver him to us of no deepe judgement, and ſo negligent that he ever left things imperfect, oftentimes in maine buſineſſe betrayd by his credulitie. But this I impute to him as an errour of the climate under which he was borne, and a certaine generous honeſty, which is above ſuſpition. The motion of this marriage was imbraced with much joy, to accompliſhment of which hee inſtantly prepared. Neither could King *Lewys* with all his Engines batter the reſolution of the Emperour, who though a moſt paſſionate lover of peace (which oftentimes hee bought with loſſe) ran the hazard of a warre from *France*, rather then let his ſonne looſe the advantage of ſo great a Countrey. And ſuddenly ſent him to the Dutcheſſe, attended by many great Commanders, who among a people ſo oppreſt with armes, would bee the beſt witneſſes of a marriage. His preſence, although it did not abſolutely turne the ſtreame of Fortune, yet gave a ſtay to the *French* conqueſts: And after he appeard in the quarrell, victory doubtfully inclind, ſometimes flattering *Maximilian*, at other times King *Lewys*: *Maximilian* by his brave valour

valour, overtaking *Lewys* who had the ſtart in experience and pollicy. So that frequent truces were concluded betweene them, and unfaithfully obſervd: the firſt opportunitie of advantage renewing the warre.

Lewys handled theſe buſineſſes apart, never admitting King *Edward*, though hee ever officiouſly labord to intereſſe himſelfe, into any part of the warre of peace. For as hee knew the ſtrength of his underſtanding ſuch, that hee in treatie could looſe nothing by the Arch-Duke; ſo he well conſider'd, that the ſafeſt way to preſerve the *Engliſh* in amitie, was to keepe them at home. Whereupon he frequently entertaind the King with Embaſſies full of curteſie, ſuch as might appeare rather the arguments of a ſincere friendſhip, then the forc'd expreſſions of ceremonie. And ever communicated with him his private counſailes, requiring his faithfull advice, when indeed hee reſerv'd his reſolutions of any high nature wholly to himſelfe, & all in the conduction of affaires, though hee would liſten to the opinion of King *Edward*, he ſtill obeyed his owne. But this, with his other Arts continu'd his reputation good with the *Engliſh*, and purchaſt that quiet, he ſuſpected might by our armes be interrupted.

And what renderd his ſecuritie the more, troubles began betweene us and *Scotland*: which wee may well beleeve hee underhand increaſt. The occaſion of them was, the evill inclination and ungovernd ſpirit of *James* the third, who diſdaining to liſten to the temperate counſailes of ſober men, obeyed onely his owne judgement; which paſſion threw headlong into raſh attempts. The freedome of advice by the Lords of that countrey

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uſed toward their Princes, renderd the ſpeaker hateſull; and frequently was rewarded with impriſonment or exile; if not with death. Among the multitude of them disfavour'd by him; *Alexander* Duke of *Albanie* the King of *Scotlands* brother baniſht into *France* reſented the injury, and endeavor'd revenge. So that as hee paſt through *England* towards his exile; being admitted to the King by all arguments he incenc'd him to a warre; Which could not but prove moſt ſucceſſefull, the hatred of the Commons conſider'd, againſt ſo violent an oppreſſor. And he proteſted that he knew the King falne into ſo low eſteeme even with thoſe he cheriſht, and into ſuch hatred with all mankind, that if aſſaulted by the *Engliſh*, he would be conſtrain'd, by ſubmiſſion of his Crowne to intreate for ſafetie.

This importunitie of the Duke of *Albanie* ſoone prevail'd with the King: who by many injuries had beene exaſperated, and had onely waited opportunitie to warre upon *Scotland*. For the boders on the *Engliſh* ſide had beene often infeſted, and upon complaint no redreſſe, nor reparation of damage. Moreover the King having heretofore condiſcended, upon a motion from King *Iames*, that his ſecond daughter the Lady *Cicilie* ſhould marry *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*; and upon the agreement paid in a large part of the portion: had receiv'd no ſatisfation to his expectation. The Articles of marriage neither being performed; nor yet the money lent, upon the bonds of the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edenborough*, according to covenants repayd. Hee was therefore the ſooner wonne to undertake the buſineſſe, which he committed to the order of the Duke of *Gloteſter*; who now

now had no competitor in greatnesse both of judgement and power: No Prince of the house of *Yorke* remaining, but such whom the want of yeares, or love of ease indisposed to action. For the King willing to decline labour, waved the expedition, and *Gloucester* ambitious to gaine opinion, especially with the Souldier, most forwardly undertooke it. The King desired to live to the best advantage of his pleasure: *Gloucester* of his honour. And indeed *Gloucester* began now like a cunning Phisition to examine the state of the Kings body, which though he found strong and healthfull, and by the ordinary reckoning of men likely to continue many yeares, yet withall he observed evill symptomes of death in him, being overgrowne with fat, and both in his diet and lust subject to disorder. Disorder a greater enemie to mankind, and which hath destroyd more then age, the sword, or pestilence. This *Gloucester* perceiv'd, and hence drew poyson, which sweld his ambition higher.

He therefore with much alacritie prepared for the warre, and with the title of Lievetenant Generall sooneafter set forward toward *Scotland*. The Armie consisted of two and twentie thousand five hundred, all commanded by men of great authority or experience. Of the nobilitie in his retinue went *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, Lord Steward of the Kings house, the Lords *Lovell*, *Graistock*, *Fitzhugh*, *Nevill*, and *Scroope* of *Bolton*: Of Knights, Sir *Edward Woodvile*, brother to the Queene, Sir *William Par*, Sir *John Elrington* Treasurer of the Kings house, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *John Dichfield* and others. The particular names of whom I menti-

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on, onely to ſhow how great a ſhadow *Gloceſter* began to caſt toward the Sunſet, both of the Kings glory and life. The Vantguard was led by the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Rereward by the Lord *Stanley*, the Maine battell by the Duke himſelfe: In whoſe company was the Duke of *Albany*: *Gloceſter* willing perhaps to have him ſtill in ſight; leaſt if apart, with ſale of the Army, he might purchaſe his owne peace.

Their firſt attempt was upon *Barwicke* (ſurrendred heretofore by Queene *Margaret* to gaine a ſanctuary for King *Henry*, when expelled *England*) into which partly by terrour of their Forces, partly by the ſuddenneſſe of their approach, they enterd without oppoſition. The towne was ſoone at their diſcretion; but the Caſtle, the ſtrongeſt Fort then in the North, by the Earle *Bothwel*, was made good againſt all battery. *Gloceſter* foreſeeing by the ſtrength both of the place, and the Commanders reſolution, that this ſiege would ſpend much time, committed the charge to the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Par*, with foure thouſand Souldiers: while he with the body of the Army marcht higher into *Scotland*; perſwaded, as indeed it happend, that they might force the King of *Scotland* either to an inglorious flight, or elſe for ſafety to locke himſelfe up in ſome ſtrong hold. By which they might ſo impriſon him, that his releaſe ſhould not bee without a full diſcharge for all injuries both againſt *England* and the Duke of *Albany*. And according to expectation it happend, the King upon the firſt rumour of an enemy, incloſing himſelfe in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*. For in his govermement having not ſtudyed the ſafety of his people

people (which is the ſupreame Law given to Kings) he found himſelfe now forſaken by them. So farre that in oppoſition to the *Engliſh*, againſt whom the *Scots* ever ſhewed a faire reſolution, no Army now tooke the field: the Countrey lying open to the mercy of the invader.

Gloceſter therefore, burning many townes by the way to ſtrike a terror, in the inhabitants; marcht directly to *Edenborough*: into which hee entred, receiving ſuch preſents as the Citizens offerd to him: for at the intreatie of the Duke of *Albanie*, he ſpared the towne from ſpoile. His entry was onely a ſpectacle of glory, the people applauding the mercy of an enemy, who preſented them with a triumph, not a battaile: and welcom'd him as a Prince, who tooke armes not for pecy or malice, but for the ſafetie of a neighbouring kingdome, diſorderd and laid waſte more by the licence of a tyrant in peace, then it could have beene by the hand of war. The Lords of *Scotland* conſidering the danger of their ſtate and deſirous to prevent ruin, ſent from *Hadington* to the Duke of *Gloceſter* to intreate a ſuſpence of armes, and to deſire a firme peace in future. They there offerd, if the occaſion of beginning this warre, were as it was pretended; to give the *Engliſh* full ſatisfaction: So that he could have no colour of continuing in hoſtilitie, but onely a deſire to execute his indignation upon a Countrey, already ſufficiently deſtroid. For concerning the marriage, they were prepared when it ſhould pleaſe the King of *England* to accompliſh it: And for any other injury offered to the *Engliſh*, they were ready to make reſtitution. The Duke of *Gloceſter* returnd in anſwer, That his comming thither was to right the

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honour of his Countrey, often violated by the *Scots*, and reſtore the Duke of *Albanie* unjuſtly commanded to exile, to his native ſoile and the dignitie of his birth. As for the matriage of the Prince of *Scotland* with the daughter of *England*, he knew not how his brothers reſolution ſtood at the preſent: whereupon hee required repayment of the money lent to their King upon the firſt agreement. And withall a delivery of the Caſtle of *Barwicke* up into his hands; without which hee proteſted to come to no accord. But the *Scottiſh* Lords labourd by all meanes to have avoided the ſurrender of a place ſo important, by pretending how anciently it even appertaind to their Crowne, by parting with which now they ſhould appeare at too deare and baſe a price, to have purchaſt peace. No argument could prevaile againſt *Gloceſters* reſolution; whereupon they yeelded *Barwicke*, with covenant too by no Art hereafter to labour the reduction of it. They likewiſe appointed a day for reſtitution of all thoſe monies lent by King *Edward*, and promiſe upon a full diſcuſſion, to make ſatisfaction for all damages done the *Engliſh* by any inroade of the *Scottiſh* borderers. And for the Duke of *Albanies* proviſion, whoſe ſafetie in this expedition was principally pretended, a generall pardon for him and his followers was granted together with an obolition of all diſcontents: Whereby he was reinveſted in all his former dignities and places: and by conſent of the nobilitie of *Scotland* proclaimd Lievetenant of the Kingdome.

With this Lord the Duke of *Gloceſter* endeavor'd a moſt entire friendſhip, and by all induſtrie imployd for his advancement in authoritie, ſtudied

how to make him firme to his purposes, if occasion should hereafter present it selfe to require his aide: And questionlesse, howsoever the fortunes of these two Dukes accorded not in every point, yet there was in their ambitions some kind of sympathy. Both being brothers to Kings, and both the Kings by the insolencie or licentiousnesse of their actions become obnoxious to a publicke scandall: But *Albanie* had the advantage in a more deserved and universall hatred to the King his brother; whereby he might not improbably expect to bee King in fact, however his brother were in title. And *Gloucester* had the start in that the King his brothers ease apparently tended to the shortning of his life; and then he, remaining the onely Prince of the blood fit to governe, was not unlikely to governe as King both in fact and title. To the advancement of any such designe, a perfect amitie with *Scotland*, *Gloucester* could not but imagine most necessary.

Having therefore sealed businesses there with all increase of glory to the *English* name, (and by consequence to his owne) hee return'd to *Barwicke*, which according to the former agreement had beene yeelded to the Lord *Stanley*. Thence in all solemnitie of greatnesse hee came toward *London*, to yeeld an account of his prosperous enterprize. By the way permit the honour of this action to bee divulged to the greatest applause, whereby to insinuate his reputation into the opinion of the Commons: and to show how much more nobly he in this expedition against *Scotland* had managed the peace for honour of the *English* nation, then his brother had in his undertaking against *France*. Considering that in lieu of a

little money, which King *Edward* got from King *Lewys*; he had taken the onely place of ſtrength whereby the *Scots* might with ſafetie to themſelves have endangerd us: And brought them to what conditions he appointed, forcing the King to immure himſelfe, while the *Engliſh* at libertie ſpoild the Countrey, and poſſeſt themſelves of his capitall Towne of *Edenborough*. And farther by *Gloceſters* flatterers it was urged, that if their Generall had but had commiſſion ample enough, hee would not have returnd without reduction of the kingdome of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*. Obedience to a ſuperior command fixing ſo ſuddaine a period to his actions. And certainly in this expedition the Duke of *Gloceſter* laid the foundation of all his after atchievements: for here having by a free ſpoile of every towne, except onely *Edenborough*, purchaſt the affection of the common Souldier; whoſe aime in warre is gaine and licence: and by ſober order and great courage, together with a brave zeale ever to bring honour to his ſide, wonne eſtimation from the nobler ſort: hee began to imagine himſelfe reputed generally onely unhappy in wanting a good title to the kingdome. The difference betweene him and his brother, the one poſſeſt, the other deſerv'd the Crowne. And his thoughts farther flatterd him, that it could not prove hereafter difficult, upon any hanſome occaſion to perſwade the people, who already thought him worthy, alſo to thinke it fit to make him King.

But theſe his blacke intentions came not yet to light: and indeed they were ſo monſtrous, that they would not onely have manifeſted the ugli-

neſſe of their ſhape had they now appear'd; but like imperfect and deformd births, beene buried, ſoone as produced. Cunningly therefore by ſimulation of a moſt ſerious love to his brother, and publiquely aſcribing the whole glory of the action to his direction, he declin'd ſuſpition. Being welcom'd by the King with all the demonſtrations of joy; who congratulated his owne felicitie in having with ſo little charge and no loſſe, tamed all the inſolency of the *Scots*, and reduced *Barwick*. He therefore to ſhow how much he approved the conditions of the peace, went ſolemnly in proceſſion from Saint *Stephens* Chappell accompanied with the Queene and a mightie retinue of the greateſt Lords into *Weſtminſter* Hall: where in preſence of the Earle of *Angus*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *James Liddall* Embaſſadors extraordinary from *Scotland* the peace was ratified.

During the warre with *Scotland*, and after the concluſion of this peace, the King diſcoverd to the people his naturall diſpoſition. Which being bountifull and courteous, farre from the proud ſtate then in practiſe with the Tyrants of the Eaſt, begot a generall affection: and made the ſubject comparing their felicity, with the miſery of their fathers to bleſſe the preſent government. The adminiſtration likewiſe of the Lawes being orderly, without violence or partialitie, cauſed all the former injuſtice to be caſt either upon the licence of warre, or the predominancie of ſome faction: The King abſolutely quit, in opinion. And even from luſt, which was reputed his boſome ſinne, toward the later end of his life, he was ſomewhat cleare: Either conſcience reforming him, or by continuall facietie growne to a loathing of it: for

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the abſtinence could not be imputed to age, hee at his death not exceeding two and fortie. But what endeard him ſo much to the affection of the people, and eſpecially to the Citizens of *London*, was his being rich by his tribute from *France*, and therefore not likely to lye heavy on them: as likewiſe the ſo famed bountie of his hoſpitalitie: Two thouſand perſons being daily ſerved in his Court at *Eltham*, where moſt ſolemnly hee celebrated the feaſt of the Nativitie. And to recompence the great love which in both fortunes the *Londoners* had ſhowed him, to his laſt houre he uſed towards them a particular kindneſſe: Even ſo much, that he invited the Lord Major and Aldermen, and ſome of the principall Citizens to the Forreſt of *Waltham*, to give them a friendly not a pompous entertainement. Where in a pleaſant Lodge they were feaſted, the King himſelfe ſeeing their dinner ſerved in; and by thus ſtooping downe to a loving familiarity, ſunke deepe into their hearts: ordinary ſlight curteſies, ordered thus to the beſt advantage, taking more often even with ſound judgements then churliſh benefits. And that the ſex he alwayes affected might not bee unremembred, he cauſed great plentie of Veniſon to bee ſent to the Lady Majoreſſe and the Aldermens wives.

Thus was the outward face of the Court full of the beautie of delight and Majeſtie: while the inward was all rotten with diſcord and envie. For the Queene by how much ſhee conſidered her ſelfe more unworthy the fortune ſhee enjoyed, by ſo much ſhe endeavord in the exterior height of carriage, to raiſe her ſelfe: foolishly imagining pride could ſet off the humilitie of her birth. Shee

was likewise (according to the nature of women) factious: as if her greatnesse could not appeare cleare enough without opposition. And they she opposed were the chiefest both in blood and power: the weaker shee disdayning to wrastle with, and they fearefull to contest with her. But what subjected her to an universall malice, was the rapine, the necessary provision of her kindred engaged her to. For they being many and great in title could not bee supplyed according to their ambition, but by so common an injury as made her name odious through the kingdome. Moreover the Lords of her blood, by reason of their nearenesse to the Kings children being insolent, and in regard of their youth, indiscreet; frequently ran into those errours which betraid them to the publicke scorne or hatred. Against the Queene (for through her kindred they aym'd at her) oppose the Duke of *Glocester*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hastings*, and others of the most ancient nobilitie. And to render odious her and hers, *Glocester* laid the death of the Duke of *Clarence* (which fratricide himselfe most barbarously contrived) altogether upon their envie: pretending a more then ordinary caution for his owne lifetie, least his person might by the same practise be brought in danger. By which calumnie he both cleared his owne reputation, and clouded the fame of a faction hee endeavored so much to ruine. But this side had much the start in opinion and policie, over the other who were young, and unexperienced: and president of whose Councell was a woman.

To compose these quarrells betwixt the King much trouble: neither could he without extreame

anxietie heare the continual complaints of perſons ſo conſiderable both in power in the kingdome, and kindred to his children; not knowing to how dangerous a height, this diſcord in time might grow. But to increaſe his diſcontent every day his jealouſie increaſt concerning King *Lewys* his faith: who now began to unmaske his intention, and ſhow how much hee had deluded the *Engliſh*. For having ever ſince *Maximilians* marriage with *Mary* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundie* beene upon unkinde termes with him: ſometimes at open warre, other times in an unfaithfull truce, hee was now growing to an abſolute peace. And the conditions were whiſper'd contrary to the treatie *Piquignie*: which made the King ſuſpicious they two might enter into ſome league prejudicall to the honour of the *Engliſh*. For *Maximilian* having kept *Lewys* all the life time of his Lady, from any further incroach upon her territory, and by his fortune won into opinion with the *French*, grew to bee muſt deſired in the neareſt friendſhip by them: And he having buried his Dutcheſſe (who owed her death to her modeſtie, in reſpect that having broke her Thigh by a fall from a Horſe ſhe denied to expoſe it to the ſight of Chirurgeons) was willing to ſtand upon good termes with *France*. Knowing how ſlender and how unfaithfull an obedience thoſe Countries would yeeld to a Prince who was to rule by curteſie, ſince to their naturall Lords they had ever ſhewed themſelves inſolent and rebellious. Theſe conſiderations prepared both ſides to peace, & the concluſion of it to beget a more perfect amitie was that the Lady *Margaret* a child of two yeares old, daughter to *Maximilian* and the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundie* ſhould

be

be affianced to the Dolphin, then upon the age of twelve. So that King *Lewys* in the marriage of his ſonne, was ever moſt diſproportionable: the daughter of *England* as much too old, as this Lady too young: but indeed his end was the ſame with *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and many other worldly fathers, to match his ſonne for the beſt advantage of his profit and convenience.

To confirme the uncertaine rumours of this perjurie in King *Lewys*, the Lord *Howard* return'd out of *France*, and made relation, how hee ſaw the Lady *Margaret* brought with all pompe and ceremony to *Amboiſe* and there married to *Charles* the Dolphin: And to heape yet more injuries, not long after the tribute hitherto ſo carefully payd, was denied. The *French* now diſcloſing the innated malice they bore the *Engliſh*, and with how little ſcruple they could diſpence with the moſt ſolemne oath, when no apparent danger threatned the crime: For though the Dolphin when hee had attaind to the age of conſent, might have broke off this marriage; and it could have beene onely term'd an act of diſcourteſie: yet King *Lewys* who had ſworne to this Article with ſo much ceremony, cannot bee excuſed from a moſt foule impietie.

But what reaſon of ſtate prevaild with him, who heretofore awed by his feares had condeſcended in a manner to compound for his kingdome, thus now to ſlight the *Engliſh* is not delivered in hiſtory. And it may appeare difficult, conſidering King *Edward* was now, if poſſibly, more abſolute in his command at home, his people better

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ter disciplin'd, and no apparence of an enemy from abroad. Adde to that, his Coffers full increast every yeare by the tribute from *France*, and his reputation high, by the victory lately purchast against the *Scots*. A nation though inferior to the *French* in the riches and extent of territory, yet in martiall courage equall: and in warring with whom, we have found more sweat and danger. It is therefore hard to know the cause of King *Lewys* his proceedings in this injurious way, if we looke on our selves onely as at home: But if wee consider the state of businesses abroad, wee may easily discerne his pollicie. For now had the *French* Arts or the change of time quite dissolved all our confederacies, and left us to maintaine with our owne armes our owne quarrell. Saint *Paul* was annihilated, in whose death expired all the discontents of the factious Nobilitie in *France*.

The Duke of *Brittaine* by an extreame melancholly (which scarce was reputed lesse then madnesse) was become unfit for government, much lesse for any great attempt: And being overcharged by the practises and armes of the *French*, in a manner made resignation of his Dutchy to the disposition of some officers easie to be corrupted. And *Burgundie* (which in the victories of *Henry* the fift, had so much advanced the *English* enterprises) was by the last league with *Maximilian* wholly at the devotion of the *French*. So that all they who heretofore had brought us over, were now either reduc'd to bee unprofitable for our ayde; or else become enemies should wee renew our ancient quarrell. Moreover the long

ease

eaſe the King of *England* had lived in, and the pleaſures with which hee appeard altogether faſcinated, render'd him to the world nothing formidable. And King *Lewys* having with ſo little difficultie hitherto deluded him, and retain'd him in a kinde of ſervile amitie, while hee threw injuries thicke upon him; was now heightend to a preſumption, that the *Engliſh* would either connive at this affront, or that by ſome new cunning they might bee appeaſd, were the indignitie never ſo much reſented. And if the worſt ſhould happen, the *French* nothing feared the enmitie: Conſidering that King *Edward* alone, would bee unable to prevaile againſt them ſeconded by the forces of *Maximilian*, whom his daughter now intereſſed in the warre.

Theſe conſiderations of ſecuritie to doe wrong according to the nature of wicked Princes, made King *Lewys* ſo boldly attempt it: And what was ſtrange in a man ſo cunning, hee left himſelfe no excuſe for the fact, eyther in the way of honour or conſcience: And ſcarce in humane pollicie. Vnleſſe his expectation reacht beyond common reaſon, in thought that Prince *Phillip*, Sonne to *Maximilian*, and the Dutcheſſe (for ſhee was mother onely to a ſonne and a daughter) might chance to die, and thus by the Lady *Margaret* all thoſe large countries devolve into the power of *France*. But how ſlight ſoever King *Lewys* his opinion was of the *Engliſh*, this breach of faith was no ſooner related to King *Edward*, but hee reſolved ſeverely to take revenge.

And

And calling together all the Counsell and Nobilitie, who for the suddennesse could be convoked, hee to this purpose made a remonstrance of his wrongs and intentions how to right himselfe.

My Lords,

THe injuries I have receiv'd are divulged every where, and the eye of the world is fixt upon mee, to observe with what countenance I suffer. And I must confesse they are of so strange a nature, that I remaine rather amazed, then enraged: Had I dealt with any Prince not civilized by Lawes, or inured to commerce; I had yet the Religion of so many oathes, and the reason of every pollitique circumstance so cleare, that I could no way have suspected this foule and foolish breach of faith. But in a Christian King (and who pretends to be most Christian) I have met with so horrid a perjurie, and so disgracefull to our Nation; that as all mankind must abhorre him as barbarous, so in my owne particular I must neglect the principall office of a Prince, if I omit to Chastise him. Most of you (my Lords) are witnesses to the solemnitie of his vowes, when humbly hee declined mine to his Kingdome: and I to avoide so great a massacre as the warre would have endangerd,

gerd, condescended to end all controversies by accord. My clemency is now become my scorne: and I reape indignities where I sowed favours. For this ungratefull man: Prince I must not tearme him, who hath by perjury forfeited that sacred title: in contempt of all Law both humane and divine, denies not onely the marriage of the Dolphin to our daughter, which would have proved so great an honour to his blood and securitie to his Kingdome; but even the annuall tribute of fifte thousand Crownes; A slender rent for so large a country, as by our permission hee hath hitherto enjoyed.

This contumelie I am resolved to punish; and I cannot doubt successe, Almightie God strengthen still his arme, who undertakes a warre for justice. In our expeditions heretofore against the *French*, what prosperitie waited upon the *English* Armes, is to the world divulged: and yet ambition then appeard the chiefe Counsellor to warre. Now beside all that right, which led over *Edward* the third our glorious Ancestor, and *Henry* the fift our Predecessor, we seeme to have a deputieship from Heaven, to execute the office of the supreame Iudge in chastising the impious.

When

When we were laſt in *France*, an innate feare in this falſe man forc'd him downe to a ſordid purchaſe of ſecurity: How low will a wicked conſcience, (which even makes the valiant, cowardly to tremble) bend him now? Now when an implacable reſolution for revenge ſets a farre ſharper edge upon our Swords. Now when he hath no hypocriſie left undiſcovered, nor ſubterfuge for his former perjurie, nor Art to gaine beleefe to new diſſimulation: Now, when our eares ſhall be deafe to all ſubmiſsion, and when our conſcience is ſo well reſolved for the neceſsitie of this war; that mercy will be thought a vicious lenitie, and the moſt ſavage crueltie, but an act of juſtice.

I neede not repeate how much age hath infirmed him (And indeed I thinke it was his dotage committed this ſo fooliſh crime) nor yet how hated he is renderd abroad by his unfaithfull dealing, at home by his ſevere government. The Commonalty ſunke downe by heavie impoſitions; the Nobilitie by proud neglect, exaſperated to deſire any innovation. But wee want not advantage; in the juſtice of our cauſe, and valour of our people wee have e-nough.

It is confest our confederacies are quite dissolved: And I rejoyce in that alone wee shall undertake this great businesse: For experience in our last attempt showed, that Princes of severall nations (however they pretend the same) have still severall aimes: And oftentimes a confederate is a greater enemy to the prosperitie of a warre, then the enemy himselfe: Envie begetting more difficultie in a Campe, than any opposition from the adverse Armie. Our Brother of *Bungardy* and Vncle of Saint *Paul* are both dead. How little their amitie advanced us, nay how a just jealousie of their secret practises hinder'd our designe then on *France*, you all may well remember. And how in our returne toward *England*, wee had more feare to have beene assaulted by their trayterous weapons, then by any armes from the enemy. But wee will spare their memory: they labor'd their owne safetie, not our glory. This I am secure, that as by death they are render'd unprofitable to us, so likewise not dangerous. And as for *Brittaine*, if his weakenesse

diſable him to our ayde, I am confident it will continuehim a neutrall. Neither is it to be forgot, how ſecurely now we may leave *England* rather then heretofore: Conſidering our ſo entire friendſhip with the *Scots*: whoſe hoſtilitie was alwayes ſharpe upon us at home, when wee attempted victorie abroad.

But I detaine you, by my ſpeech, too longe from action. I ſee the clouds of due revenge gatherd in your brow, and the lightning of furie break from your eyes: Which abodes thunder againſt our enemy. Let us therefore looſe no time, but ſuddenly and ſeverely ſcourge this perjured coward to a too late repentance: and regaine honour to our Nation, and his Kingdome to our Crovvne.

The Lords reſented the affront with an indignation high as the Kings, and deſired that inſtant preparations might be made for the warre. But above all, the Duke of *Gloceſter* appeard zealous in the quarrell: expreſſing aloud his deſire that all his eſtate might be ſpent, and all his veines emptied in revenge of this injury. All the Court was preſently for the deſigne, and the whole Kingdom with a fierce appetite deſired to arme. So

that no language was heard but martiall; and all the gallantry, in new armour or other conveniences for ſervice. The King moſt paſſionatly purſued his determination, and that very ſpring reſolved to begin the warre. But he was diverted on the ſudden from calling King *Lewys* to a reckoning for this crime; and ſummond by death to give a ſtrict account of all his owne. Death arreſted him, and in the reſpect of not many houres, inſtracted him in more then all the oratory from pulpits had done for fortie yeares. For ſoone as he found himſelfe mortally ſicke, he began to conſider the vanitie of all his victories, which with the expence of ſo much blood he had purchac'd; and to the heart repented his too hard bargaine. He looked backe upon the beautie of his ſenſuall pleaſures; and now diſcernd it was onely faire in the outſide, inwardly rotten and deform'd. He caſt up the accounts of his tribute both at home and abroad, and all thoſe treaſures gather'd either by proſcription of his enemies, or exacting from his ſubjects, and found himſelfe a banckerout. For till now, hee wanted leaſure to ſearch into that which moſt concernd him: and delighted too much in the pompe & pleaſure of the Inne where he was not to ſtay, forgot he had a journey, and unawares was overtaken by night: an endleſſe night, which no day ſucceedes.

Perceiving his doome inevitable and no hope of the leaſt reprive: he began to order buſineſſe as fully as the ſhortneſſe of the time would licence. The great affaire of his ſoule, & indeede the onely that is neceſſary, he committed to the mercy of his redeemer: and by the Sacraments then in uſe with the Church in *England* and a reall contrition hee labord, a full expiation of the crimes and errours

of

of his life. And as his death is described to us by an excellent author who lived neere his time: Almightie God seemes to have strucke water even from the Rocke (as by *Moses* Wand hee did for the *Israelites*) in touching this Prince to the heart, and forcing a most religious penetence, from a soule obdurate in sinne, as wee may conjecture by his life.

The revenge of the injury hee receiv'd from King *Lewys*, he refer'd to the judgement of heaven, whose worke it is to punish perjury. And *Lewys* suffered for it according to his demerit: for that sonne in marrying whom hee so bused his imaginations, and slighted all faith and religion, lived but a short space, and died issuelesse. Not one branch remaining of that great tree, whose roote was in perjurie and dissimulation.

The protection of the King and Kingdome he left to the Lords neerest in kindred to his children, advising them to amitie and concord. By which the nation would flourish in greatnesse abroad and safetie at home. The young King bee secured from flattery, and instructed in the best discipline for government. And they themselves live is much honour and felicitie, if united to advance the Commonwealth and oppose all forraine danger. Whereas discord would beget civill warre, and that endanger ruine. So that this Christian King like Christ himselfe, when he departed bequeathd peace to the world. And had this doctrine beene as zealously followed, as it was uttered; the succeeding time had not beene guiltie of so many sad confusions. But for the present a perfect reconciliation appeard, both sides lovingly imbracing, and protesting all

amitie in the future. So that with comfort hee forſooke the world, and may well be ſaid to have deſerved a generall applauſe, in this laſt ſceane of his life.

Among his words of farewell at his death, it is worthy obſervation; that he ſolemnly proteſted his repentance, for obtaining the Crowne with ſo much blood, as the neceſſitie of the quarrell ſpilt. Which certainly ſhowes a moſt ſingular pietie, conſidering the indubitable juſtice of his title: And withall teacheth Princes a new leſſon, that the power of ſway, great men ſo ſuperſtitiouſly adore, is but the Idoll of folly and ambition: Whoſe oracles delude the living, but on our death-beds we diſcerne the truth, and hate the irreligion of our former errour.

Concerning the occaſion of his death there is much varietie in opinion: for by ſeverall authors, it is ſeverally imputed to poiſon, griefe, and ſurfeit. They who aſcribe it to poyſon, are the paſſionate enemies of *Richard* Duke of *Glocęſters* memory: Who permit not nature at that time to have beene obnoxious to decay; but make the death of every Prince an act of violence or practiſe: And in regard this cruell Lord was guiltie of much blood, without any other argument, condemne him for thoſe crimes, from which he was however actually moſt innocent. The *French* affirme it to have proceeded from griefe conceiv'd upon repudiation of his daughter, and detention of the tribute. But they looking on our affaires a farre off, miſtake the ſhadow for the ſubſtance, deſirous perhaps that King *Lewys* ſhould kill a King of *England* by a new weapon: And certainly *Lewys* did perſwade himſelfe that King *Edward*

was

was slaine this way, and congratulated his fate much in the accident. But this carries not the least apparence of probabilitie: Great sorrowes kill for the most part suddenly, else by a languishing decay of nature: whereas King *Edward* dyed not presently upon the repott, nor yet drew melancholly from this injurie, but a brave anger fierce to seeke revenge. Moreover griefe hath then bin observed most powerfull over life, when the disconsolate hath no care to which hee may expresse himselfe, and no hope left for remedy: whereas King *Edward* breath'd forth passion to his Councell, and found in them a simpathy both in the sorrow and the rage: And as for revenge, certainly the state of *England* was never better prepar'd to exact it: The King being a valiant and fortunate leader, the people inured heretofore to the exercise of Armes, and never so forward to any quarrell, as against the *French*, from whom they ever reaped victory and treasure: And concerning money the strength of an Army, the Exchequer was full enough, without any burdensome imposition, to beginne the warre.

It was therefore questionlesse a surfet brought this great Prince so suddainly to his end. For who observes well the scope of his pleasure, findes it to have beene placed much in wantonnesse and riot, the two mightie destroyers of nature: And commonly those excesses with which wee solace life, we ruine it. Hee dyed upon the ninth of *April* 1483. at his Palace of *Westminster*: and was interred at *Windsor*. *Sixtus* the fourth being *Pope*, *Fredericke* the third Emperour, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queene of *Arragon* and *Castile*: *John* the second King of *Portugall*, *James* the third of

Scotland, and Lewys the eleventh of France. Betweene whom and King Edward as there was much intercourse in businesse, so was there great concurrence in fortune. Both began and ended their raignes in the same yeares: both were held in jealousie by the precedent Kings, Edward by King Henry, Lewys by his father Charles the seventh: both had titles disputable to the Crowne: The house of Lancaster usurpt against Edward, the house of England claiming against Lewys. Both were perplext with civill warre, and both successefull: Lewys infested by an insolent Nobilitie, Edward by a Saint-like Competitor. Lewys victorious by art, Edward by courage. Both were rebeld against by their owne brothers: Lewes by Charles Duke of Berry, Edward by George Duke of Clarence: And both tooke a severe revenge, Lewys freeing himselfe from so bosome an enemie by poysoning Charles; Edward by drowning Clarence. Both ended this life with apparence of much zeale: Edward religiously, Lewys something superstitiously. Both left their sonnes, yet children to inherit; who dyed issuelesse, and left the Crowne to their greatest enemies: Edward the fift to his Vncle Richard Duke of Gloucester, Charles the eight to his kinsman Lewys Duke of Orleans.

But who lookes upon the lives of these two Princes on the other side, may as in a table which presents severall faces, perceive as great disparitie. But I am onely to give you the picture of King Edward, without flattery or detraction; which is rare in history: considering authors fashion for the most part Idaes in their mindes, and according to them, not to the truth of action

forme a Prince: which though happily it winne applause to the writer, is a high abuse to the reader.

BUt this King was, if we compare his with the lives of Princes in generall, worthy to be numbred among the best. And whom though not an extraordinary vertue, yet a singular fortune made conspicuous. He was borne at Roane in Normandy, his father at that time Regent in France. The so fatall division betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster with him in a manner having both their birth and growth. For as he, the faction of his family gatherd strength. His education was, according to the best provision for his honour and safetie, in armes. A strict and religious discipline, in all probabilitie likely to have softned him too much to mercy, and a love of quiet.

He had a great extent of wit, which certainly hee owed to nature: That age bettering men little by learning; which howsoever he had wanted leisure to have receiv'd: The Trumpet sounding still too loud in his eare, to have admitted the sober counsailes of Philosophy. And his wit lay not in the slights of cunning and deceit, but in a sharpe apprehension, yet not too much whetted by suspition.

In counsaile he was judicious, with little difficultie dispatching much: His understanding open to cleare doubts, not darke and cloudie, nor apt to create new. His wisedome look'd still directly upon truth, which appeares by the manage of his affaires both in peace and warre: In neither of which (as farre as concernd the pollitique part) he committed any maine errour. Tis true he was over-reacht in peace by King Lewys, abusd concerning the marriage of his daughter. In warre by the Earle of Warwicke, when upon confidence of a finall accord he was surpriz'd. But both these misfortunes may be impute to want of faith in his enemies, not of judgement in him. Though to speake impar-

impartially, his too great presumption on the oath of a dissembling Prince, and want of circumspection, a reconciliation being but in treatie; cannot scape without reprehension.

His nature certainly was both noble and honest, which if rectified by the strait rule of vertue, had rendred him fit for example, whereas he is onely now for observation. For prosperitie raisd him but to a complacencie in his fortune; not to a disdaine of others losses, or a pride of his owne acquisitions. And when he had most securitie in his Kingdome, and consequently most allurements to tyrannie, then showed he himselfe most familiar and indulgent. An admirable temperance in a Prince, who so well knew his owne strength; and whom the love of riot necessitated to a love of treasure; which commonly is supplyed by oppression of the Subject.

The heavie fine upon Sr. Thomas Cooke and displacing the chiefe Justice blemisheth him with violence, and avorice. But that severitie, and the other when hee began to looke into the Pœnall Lawes, were but short tempests or rather small overcastings, during the glorious calme of his government. And what soever injurie the subject endured, was not imputed to the King: But to Tiptoft Earle of Worcester and some under informers: Or else to the Queene and her necessitous kindred. The world either judiciously or else favourably diverting all envie from his memory.

Great judgement in leading his armies, and courage in fighting personally, speakes him both a daring Souldier, and an expert Commander. And the many battailes hee fought, in all which he triumpht, delivers him as much to be admired for his militarie discipline, as his happy successe. Fortune not deserving to have all his mightie victories ascribed to her gift: Valour and good conduct share at the least with her in the fate of warre. But as in armes

armes he appeares moſt glorious to poſteritie, ſo likewiſe moſt unhappy: For all thoſe bloody conqueſts hee obtaind, were againſt his owne nation; And the greateſt adverſaries he overcame, neere in conſanguinitie to him; ſo that he may more properly be ſayd to have let himſelfe blood, then his enemies; or rather for preſervation of his owne body, to have cut off his principall and moſt neceſſary limmes. For beſide thoſe many Princes of the houſe of Sommerſet, Buckingham, Exceſter, Oxford, Devonſhire, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Shrewsbury, and finally the tree it ſelfe, and the onely branch, Henry the ſixt and his Sonne Prince Edward; He ſlew even the Earle of Warwicke and the Marqueſſe Mountague: Two brothers who having loſt their father in his quarrell, hazarded their lives and thoſe mighty poſſeſſions and honours which peaceably they might have enjoyed, onely to advance his title. But this was rather his fate, then his fault: and into this Sea of blood hee ſaild not voluntarily, but violently driven by the tempeſts of his fortune. And for the crueltie laid to him in the death of the Duke of Clarence, he was certainly wrought to it by practiſe and the miſ-information of an envious faction in Court: The horrour of which fratricide poſſeſt him to the laſt houre of his life, frequently complaining againſt the unhappy ſeveritie of his juſtice, and againſt the hard nature of his Councellors, who would not interpoſe one word to him for mercy, whereby ſo blacke a deede might have beene prevented. But howſoever wee may waſh away much of this blood from his memory, yet there continue many foule ſtaines upon it: ſince publique miſchiefes ſeldome happen, but that the Prince, though not actually nocent, as in ſome degree guiltie.

As theſe ſo many confuſions at home were the miſfortune of his time, ſo was abroad, that ſo ſcandalous laſſe of the Eaſterne Empire to the Turke. For though King Edward

ward were not the occasion of so great ruine to the Christian Commonwealth, and that this happened before hee attained the soveraigntie, his father being head of the faction; yet the civill warres of England raisd upon the quarrell which he was soone after to maintaine, and the universall division among Princes of the West gave courage to the Infidells; and denyed succours to the miserable Emperour oppresst by an over potent enemy. Whereby a Citie was prophaned, in which the Christian faith had flourisht without interruption for a thousand yeares. But as the Sea is said to gaine in another, if it looseth in this place: So about this time religion, by the singular pietie and valour of Ferdinand and Isabella, wonne ground upon the Moores in Spaine, whence not long after they were totally and (I hope) for ever expeld.

But when the Warre licenc'd the King to attend his government, we finde the administration of Lawes just and equall: and many new Statutes enacted, wholesome against diseases crept into the State: So that he appeard dilligent both to heale up any wound, the tumults of his raigne had given the commonwealth, and provident for the health of future ages. And certainly no Prince could husband the benefits of peace better for the outward magnificence; For his glory was much in hospitalitie, and a pompous celebration of the principall feasts of our redemption. In which way of bravery setling much of his happinesse, hee had beene doubtlesse the most fortunate of any King of the Norman line, had hee not faild in expectation of his daughters marriage.

His buildings were few, but sumptuous for that time, or more properly but reparations. Which are yet to bee seene at the Tower of London, his house of Eltham, the Castles of Nottingham and Dover: But above all at Windsor, where he built the new Chappell (finisht after by Sr. Riginald Bray Knight of the Order) and indow-

ed the Colledge with mightie revenues: which hee gave not, but transferd thither: taking from Kings Colledge in Cambridge; *and* Eaton *Colledge a thousand pound by the yeare to inrich this at* Windsor.

But our buildings like our children are obnoxious to death; and time scornes their folly, who place a perpetuitie in either. And indeed the safer kinde of fate happened to King Edward *in both these felicities: His posteritie, like his edifices, lost in other names. For his two sonnes, before they had survived their father, the ceremonious time of mourning, were themselves inhumanly murderd, and as obscurely buried. His eldest daughter the Lady* Elizabeth *was married to the Earle of* Richmond, *knowne by the name of* Henry *the seventh: Whose heire in a strait line not liable to any doubt or question, is his most sacred Majestie, now glorious in government of this Realme. The younger daughters were bestowed, one in a monasterie, others upon inferiour Lords.* Cicily *married* Iohn *Vicount* Wells: Anne, Thomas Howard, *Duke of* Norfolke: Briget *was profest Nunne at* Dartford: Mary *was contracted to the King of* Denmarke, *but died before consummation:* Margaret *died an Infant:* Katherine *married* William Courtney *Earle of* Devonshire. *But of none of these younger Princesses at this day remaines any thing but their memory: All dying issulesse but the Lady* Katherine, *whose posteritie faild likewise in the third descent.* Henry *her sonne Marquesse of* Exceter *suffered by attainder in the raigne of his Cosen German* Henry *the Eight, being not long before designd heire apparent (an honour fatall in* England:) *and his sonne* Edward *untimely came to his death at* Padua *in* Italy, *in the raigne of Queene* Mary, *by whose favour hee had regaind his fathers honours and possessions. So that all the cleare streame from the spring of* Yorke *flowes in the house of* Scotland: *The troubled and impure runnes*

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in many veines of the Engliſh *Gentry. For by the Lady* Elizabeth Lucy, *he had an illigitimate Sonne named* Arthur, *who by his wives right was Vicount* Lile, *and dying without iſſue Male, left to his three daughters and their poſteritie ſome tincture of the blood royall.*

This diſeaſe of his blood was the crime which procured both to his government and memory many hard cenſures. For though ſome excuſe his luſt, as a ſinne though blacke to the eye of heaven, yet no way generally injurious: In regard the incontinency of one man could not be ſo diffuſive as to wrong a multitude: Nevertheleſſe who obſerves the revolutions of Kingdomes, ſhall finde no one iniquitie in Princes ſo puniſht. The diſhonour of one Lady abuſed extending the diſgrace of ſeverall families, and mightie factions knitting together for revenge: In the whole ſtocke of injuries none being ſo cruell to humane nature, and which with leſſe patience can bee diſſembled.

His frequent perjurie (a ſinne which ſtrikes like a Sword with two edges, both againſt divine and humane faith) was the crime which renderd him moſt odious to the ſocietie of man. For impiouſly hee appeard in this to brave heaven, ſlighting all ſolemne covenants made with God: and fooliſhly preferring before a holy promiſe, a little profit, or the ſatisfaction of his revenge. Which crime, however for the preſent it might ſtand him in ſome benefit; yet certainly it might have indangerd him to much loſſe in all after enterpriſes, which depended upon faith. The deaths of Wells *and* Dimock, *of* Fauconbridge, *of* Sommerſet, *Lord* Prior *of* S^t^. Iohns *and others, were the wounds perjury gave his ſoule, the ſcarres of which remaine yet foule upon his fame. But perhaps hee thought no faith was to be held with an enemy, Or promiſt, not with intention of performance: An impious equivoca-*

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tion: but then in practiſe with his neighbour Princes both of France and Burgundy: So that the cuſtome may in ſome ſort ſeeme to priviledge the fault.

In his youth he was ſo uncircumſpect, and even when he had the ſtrongeſt arguments for jealouſie, ſo overconfident: that it engaged him to extreame difficulties, and endangerd abſolute ruine. But his fortune, almoſt miraculouſly, made up all thoſe breaches, which had beene by his careleſneſſe and preſumption laid open: and delighting ſomething wantonly to boaſt her power and favour to him, raiſd him then higheſt, when all the world, and almoſt his owne hopes forſooke him. For preſently upon the ſlaughter of his father at the battell of Wakefield, and the overthrow of his great ſupporter the Earle of Warwick at that of Saint Alban: Shee inthrond him in the Kingdome: Making the Queene and all the favourers of Lancaſter when doubly victorious, retire as overcome; and the univerſall acclamations of the people ſet the regall Diadem upon his head; whoſe fathers head at that time, like a Traytors was fixt upon the Walls of Yorke, ſcornd with a paper Crowne. And afterward when from a mightie Prince hee was become a miſerable Exile, forc'd by the treaſon of his chiefeſt Councellors and powers of his greateſt enemie to flie into Burgundy, where hee likewiſe met with but a diſſembled amitie: Shee reſtored him to what at firſt ſhee gave: And whereas his Forces were ſo weake upon his returne into England; that deſpayring more, hee humbly onely deſired to be inveſted in his fathers Dutchy, and vowed never to attempt the Crowne: Shee violently forc'd it on him: proteſting (by the mouthes of the Nobilitie who reſorted to him at Nottingham) not to afford him ſafetie if hee refuſed the ſoveraingtie: By which amorous way of threatning ſhee in a manner wooed him to accept, what hee durſt not then hope to recover. And had the appe-

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tite of glory more prevaild with them, then the Scene of pleasure, as farre we may conjecture of his fortune; hee might have extended his victories over the world, which are now straitned with the narrow limits of our Island.

FINIS.